SELECTIONS FROM TACITUS.

EXCERPTA TACITIANA.

SELECTIONS FROM TACITUS:

EMBRACING

THE MORE STRIKING PORTIONS OF HIS DIFFERENT WORKS.

WITH NOTES, INTRODUCTION, AND A COLLECTION OF HIS APHORISMS,

For College and Private Use.

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PREFACE.

THE design of this book is to give a somewhat comprehensive view of the writings of Tacitus in a comparatively small space. For this purpose, portions have been taken from all his works, except the Germania, not, however, without some regard to unity in the main parts. Most of the extracts from the Annals relate to that most interesting of Roman princes, Germanicus; while the extracts from the History are very largely connected with the movement which resulted in the accession of Vespasian to the principate of Rome. These great characters, and that of Agricola, naturally excited the admiration of Tacitus, and inspired his narrative, even when bearing but remotely upon them, with extraordinary life and vigor. Much of this narrative, it is true, is omitted here; but the information required by these omissions has been supplied in the notes. And, in general, all biographical and historical information which seemed to be required has been introduced into the notes.

Without neglecting the grammatical * relations of the language, something more than the usual attention has been paid to the thought and its rhetorical presentation. Tacitus was a profound social and political philosopher, with a wonderful insight into the workings of human nature, and a marvellous power of depicting these workings in sharp sententious language. His thought is deep and subtle, and his words pointed and few. It is often difficult to find the thread of his discourse, but it is certain to be golden when found. Indeed, much of the pleasure derived from reading his works arises from the effort required to ascertain his meaning, which, glimmering out from his wonderful words, like the light from a consecrated grove, at once arrests the attention, but often requires no inconsiderable study and reflection fully to comprehend it. And, while it has not been attempted to deprive the reader of this pleasure by profuse explanations, it has been thought best here and there to give hints of the meaning and translate obscure passages, in order to ensure a clear understanding of the general scope of the narrative.

In making up the notes, I have been greatly aided

* Grammatical relations, however, have been chiefly illustrated by references to parallel passages, and to the introductory essay of Draeger; but occasional references have been made to Harkness's and Madvig's Latin Grammars, and to the grammar of Allen and Greenough. These are referred to in the notes by the initials of their authors respectively, the numbers denoting the sections in the first two, and the pages in the last.

by the labors of those who have preceded me. Of the older commentators, Doederlein and Orelli, and of the more recent, Draeger and Heraeus, have been constantly before me; while the excellent editions of Professor Tyler have long been familiar to me by frequent use in the class-room. As, however, I have desired to have my pages as little encumbered as possible with what is not absolutely required, I have not generally thought it best to transfer to them the learned references found in some of these editions, as I have not thought it necessary to give credit for hints or matter derived from these sources, except when adopted in form.

Tacitus,* the friend and companion of the younger Pliny, was an eminent citizen of Rome under the Empire, passing through the entire round of honorable offices, from the questorship to the consulship; and yet comparatively little is known of his life and personal history. Neither his descent, nor the time or place of his birth, nor of his death, is known; though it is clear that he must have been born about the year A.D. 54, and died about the year A.D. 120, after the death of the emperor Trajan, whom he seems to have survived. He thus lived two or three generations after the extinction of the Republic, and hence after the golden age of the Latin literature;

* Recent investigations show his name to have been P. Cornelius Tacitus, instead of C. Cornelius Tacitus, as it has generally been supposed to be.

more than one hundred and fifty years later than Cicero and Cæsar, and more than one hundred years after Horace, Livy, and Sallust. The bloom of the Latin literature had passed, and it was fast declining towards what has been called the silver age. The language had changed considerably from the Ciceronian standard, but, in the hands of a writer like Tacitus, was still a magnificent instrument for the expression of thought. He was well acquainted with it in its whole compass, and laid it under contribution in all its forms, — literally drawing from it "things new and old." To show the peculiarities of his language and style, — which are chiefly embraced under the usual classification of them, as *brevitas*, *varietas*, *color poeticus*, — I have prefixed, as an introduction, a translation of the comprehensive essay of Dr. A. Draeger on the subject.

It only remains to be said that the text here used is that of the latest recension of Charles Halm, the standard of nearly all the recent editions of Tacitus; with which I have scarcely ventured to do more than to change the spelling, so as to make it correspond in the main to that of the Latin Lexicons in use in this country.

J. T. C.

PORTLAND, July, 1876.

INTRODUCTION.

ESSAY ON THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF TACITUS.

By DR. A. DRAEGER,

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I. OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH AS USED BY TACITUS.

A. Of the Substantive.

§ 1. *The plural of abstract nouns.*

(*a*) Those denoting *feelings:* metus, pavores, pallores, odia, irae, iracundiae, tristitiae, luctus, gaudia, libidines (wantonness), spiritus. Of these, Cicero has metus, odia, iracundiae; Livy, irae, gaudia, odia, luctus.

(*b*) Those denoting *mental qualities and states:* audaciae, pravitates, simulationes, obsequia, lasciviae, infamiae, fastidia, sensus (sentiments). Here Cicero goes even further.

(*c*) Those denoting *motion:* fugae, transfugia, effugia, diffugia, adventus, comitatus et egressus. Of these, Cicero has only fugae and adventus.

(*d*) Of unclassified nouns: voluntates, utilitates, dignationes, dignitates, captivitates urbium, *fortunae* captae urbis (= casus), mortes, somni, valetudines, nocturni visus, educationes, jura successionum, consortia rerum, suspitiones, superstitiones, gloriae, silentia, miseriae temporum, necessitates, aemulatus.

(*e*) Those denoting *office:* dictaturae, praeturae, consulatus, tribunatus, auguratus, pontificatus.

Cicero often uses the plural of abstract nouns, the comic writers rarely; Tacitus and Gellius, of the later prose-writers, occasionally use it in other words than the above.

§ 2. *Abstract nouns for concrete:* caerimoniae (acts of worship), matrimonia *for* conjuges, nobilitates (notables), vitae usus (necessaries of life), decora *for* decori homines, amicitia (friends), jura (legal forms), dominationes, remigium, necessitudines, affinitates, clientelae, servitia, exilium.

§ 3. *For variety* the singular and plural of concrete nouns are often used interchangeably: consules patres eques, eques-pedites, pedites eques, pedes equites, post peditum ordines eques, septimani — tertianus, senatores eques miles; Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha; Samnis Paelignusque et Marsi. We find the like also in Livy.

§ 4. While we find in Tacitus more than forty *verbal nouns* in *-tor* and *-sor*, which were used by strictly classical writers, he has the following, which are poetic and post-classical: cupitor, patrator, instinctor, instigator, criminator, raptor, famae venditator, auxiliator, condemnator, defector, conditor, violator, provisor, delator, proeliator, firmator, monstrator, regnator, interfectrix; and the following found also in Livy: assertor, concitor, interceptor, ostentator, populator, munitor, turbator, ruptor.

The following are found only in Tacitus: accumulator, concertator, detractor, exstimulator, profligator, sanctor legum, legum subversor, instigatrix, regnatrix.

B. Of the Adjective.

§ 5. *Adjectives* (and Participles) are often used *substantively.*

(*a*) In the *masculine:* equester, militaris, nulli, missi, praecipientes, praesidentes, dicentes, orantes, peccantes, servientes, laudantes, medentes, vincentes.

(*b*) In the *neuter sing.*, nullo=nulla re (post-classical), egregium, bonum publicum, imperatorium, in unum, dignum, triste, providum, breve et incertum, vasto et profundo, vetus, honestum, barbarum, per immensum, in lubrico. For others accompanied by a genitive, see § 40, *a*.

(*c*) In the *neuter plural* very often, especially with the genitive (see § 40, *b*).

§ 6. The *predicate adjective is used for an adverb* oftener than by the earlier writers: frequens, rarus, obscurus, multus in agmine, subitus irrupit, repentinus, avidus intercepit, diversi interpretabantur, pergit properus, intrepidi transiere, occulti laetabantur, aequus, rapidus, irritus, novissimus, improvisus, praecipuus.

§ 7. *Comparative and superlative* of adjectives (and participles).

He has the following rare forms: sordidius et abjectius, irrevocabilior, toleratior, conspectior, conjunctior, junctissimus, metuentior, excusatius, sollicitior, insignitior, improvisior, invisior, curatius, curatissimus, absolutissimus, impeditissimarum, strenuissimus, piissimus, vulgarissimus.

But Cicero goes even farther than Tacitus in such innovations. Livy, also, does not avoid them: as, cunctior, assuetior, impunitior, insuperabilior, etc. Cæsar and Sallust are very correct in this particular.

C. Pronouns.

§ 8. Here, besides the adjective use of *quidquam* (in Dialogue on Oratory, 29), we find merely what is found in classical authors; viz., quis *for* uter, quis ille *and* hic ille in brachilogy, aliquis in negative and conditional sentences, the exchange of demonstrative and reflexive pronouns, and the occasional *nemo unus* ("no one in particular"), *unus aliquis* ("any one in particular").

D. The Adverb.

§ 9. We find in the History and the Annals of Tacitus *ceterum* for *sed*, which is not found in Cicero and Cæsar, though common in Livy. In the sense *re vera autem* it is found only in Tacitus and Suetonius.

§ 10. *Neuter adjectives as adverbs:* aeternum, immensum, postremum, supremum, praeceps, recens. Such usage is still farther extended in other post-classical prose-writers.

§ 11. *Adverbs* instead of *attributive adjectives:* multa *invicem* damna, universae *ultra* gentes, nullis *contra* terris, dites *circum* terrae, occupare *velut* arcem ejus (his apparent citadel; similarly *quasi* in Cicero), insigni familia ac *perinde* opibus, gravibus *superne* ictibus, impar *cominus* pugna, Liburnicarum *ibi* navium, memoria prosperarum *illic* rerum. This use of adverbs is common also in Livy.

§ 12. *Particular adverbs:* adhuc (as yet), utcumque (however, after some sort), both of which are found also in Livy. Non saltem *for* ne quidem, adeo non = nedum, ferme *almost always for* fere.

E. The Verb.

§ 13. The influence of the poets is apparent in his frequent use of the *simple verb for its compound:* as, aspici, asperare, ardescere, celerare, cire; cernere *for* decernere, clarescere, cludere, firmare *for* affir-

mare *and* confirmare; flammare, flere (with acc.), gravescere, haurire *for* exhaurire, noscere *for* agnoscere, notescere, novare *for* renovare, piare, ponere *for* proponere, propinquare, putare *for* computare, quatere, radere, rapere *for* abripere *and* eripere, sistere *for* consistere, solari, spargere *for* dispergere, struere *for* exstruere *and* instruere, suescere, temnere, tenuare, valescere, vanescere, venire *for* provenire, vehere *for* provehere, vectus *for* transvectus, vertere *for* evertere, vincire *for* devincire, vocare *for* provocare *and* invocare.

§ 14. *Of voice in verbs.*

(*a*) We find in Tacitus a **personal passive** of the intransitive verbs dubitare, triumphare, ministrare, regnare.

(*b*) *Coepi* **in the active** with a passive infin.: as, audiri, dimoveri, eligi, occidi. In the strictly classical writers, the *passive* forms of *coepi* are used with such infinitives, but not in Tacitus.

§ 15. Of the *Tenses.*

(*a*) The Perfect for the Pluperfect; scripsit (Ann. 1: 53), transtulit (Ann. 2: 62), thus often. So, also, not unfrequently in Cæsar. In such cases, the act is timed from the present, rather than from some past act to which it might be referred.

(*b*) The Pluperfect for the Perfect: aboleverat (Ann. 2: 5), advexerat (Ann. 1: 63), and thus often; so, also, in Sallust and Livy. Here the act is specially timed with reference to some previous act.

(*c*) The subjunctive of the Present and Perfect in indirect discourse about the past is not unfrequently found in the History and Annals of Tacitus, as, also, in Cæsar and Livy, less frequently in Sallust. This seems to arise from a desire for variety in the form of the verbal endings.

§ 16. *Moods.* An innovation sometimes found in Tacitus, and occasionally, also, in the later writers, is the use of the Perfect subjunctive as a *potential present* or *imperfect in subordinate sentences;* while, in the earlier writers (and generally, too, in Tacitus), this use was allowed only in *principal or independent sentences:* ut ita dixerim (Agr. 3), ut sic dixerim (Dial. 34). The use of the moods by Tacitus in principal sentences is entirely correct.

II. SIMPLE SENTENCES.

A. Agreement.

§ 17. *Agreement in number.* Collective nouns and pronouns often have a plural predicate: seditiosissimum quemque *vinctos* trahunt.

So, also, uterque, pars, multitudo, plebes, vulgus, exercitus, manus, vexillum, juventus. This construction is very common in Livy, but very rare in Cicero.

§ 18. *Agreement in gender.*

(*a*) Adjectives and pronouns are often in the *neuter* instead of the masculine or feminine: comitatem et temperantiam, nulli *invisa* (Ann. 11: 16). This is most common with the neuter of the demonstrative pronoun: as, non medicinam *illud*, sed cladem appellans (Ann. 1: 49); quasi *illud* respublica esset (Ann. 4: 19); non enim preces sunt *istud* (Ann. 2: 38). We find the same construction in Sallust.

(*b*) In the *masculine* instead of the neuter. This, however, is found mostly in connection with *milia*. The following from Ann. 11: 25 is wholly unprecedented: judicium censorum ac pudor sponte cedentium permixti (instead of *permixta*).

B. Interrogative Sentences.

§ 19. We find a question in a final sentence only once in Tacitus (Ann. 14: 43): decernite impunitatem, *ut quem* dignitas sua defendat. This Greek construction is found but three times in Cicero, and five times in Livy. The participial sentence never takes an interrogative form in Tacitus.

C. The Omission of the Predicate.

§ 20. Omission of the forms of *esse.*

(*a*) In the Indicative often, and even in subordinate sentences after *qui*, *ubi*, *quia*, *donec*, *utquis*, *postquam*. This is rare in the strictly classical writers.

(*b*) In the Subjunctive. (1) When another subjunctive follows, as in Ann. 1: 9, 35, 65, and often. (2) Without a following subjunctive only in a very few cases. (3) In indirect questions and in exclamations, as in Ann. 1: 11, 16, 48, and often. (4) After *tanquam* and *dum* in indirect discourse, as in Germ. 39, and Ann. 6: 26. This is very rare in early writers.

(*c*) In the Infinitive: Hist. 4: 23, neque id malorum (scil. *fore*); Ann. 1: 15, subsidium (*fore*); 2: 31, petiturum se vitam (fuisse). So *fuisse* is often omitted in the Annals; often also in Livy and Curtius, but not in Cicero, Cæsar, or Sallust.

§ 21. Verbs of *perceiving*, *thinking*, and *saying* are omitted.

(*a*) When the discourse is obviously that of some person or party named in the connection, as in Ann. 1: 9, 41.

(*b*) In animated narrative; as, Ann. 14: 6, 7, 8.

(*c*) When a verb of like meaning to that omitted precedes or follows; as, Ann. 1: 28, 39; 2: 5.

(*d*) When the thoughts of some one named in what precedes are given in indirect discourse, as in Ann. 1: 38; 12: 5. Tacitus goes much farther here than his predecessors.

§ 22. Verbs of *moving* and *acting* are omitted: Ann. 4: 57, tandem Cæsar in Campaniam (scil. profectus); 14: 8, quod nemo a filio (veniret); 4: 38, melius Augustum (egisse); 1: 43, melius et amantius ille (egit); 4: 12, atque haec callidis criminatoribus; 6: 10, haec apud senatum. Such verbs are often omitted in the letters of Cicero, but seldom in Sallust and Livy, and never in Cæsar and Velleius.

D. The Object.

1.—*The Accusative.*

§ 23. The *local accusative* of names of countries and peoples. Aegyptum proficiscitur; ductus inde Cangos; Hiberos pervadit; Aventinum defertur. After the analogy of these accusatives, common nouns sometimes take the same case; as, campos propinquabat (Ann. 12: 13). In other cases with the dative in Tacitus. In all other Latin writers this acc. is very rare.

§ 24. Accusative of *respect* or *specification*. This is what is called the Greek accusative: animum vultumque conversis (H. 1: 85); frontem et tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus (Ann. 1: 50); contectus humeros ferina pelle (2: 13); oblitus faciem suo cruore (2: 17); nudae brachia ac lacertos (G. 17); and in many other cases. Also with adjectives: manum aeger (H. 4: 81); clari genus (Ann. 6: 9); frigidus jam artus (Ann. 15: 64).

This Greek construction, derived from the poets, is wanting in Cicero, Sallust, Quintilian, Nepos, and Justin.

§ 25. The *transitive accusative*, or acc. of direct object.

(*a*) With verbs denoting *feelings:* pavere, pavescere, expavescere, gravari.

(*b*) With fungor, potior, vescor, as occasionally, also, in all Latin writers.

(*c*) With *compound verbs*, with which a dat. or an acc. with a preposition would be expected: accedere, incedere, accurrere, assidere, insidēre (also with dat.), insidĕre (never with dat.), adventare, appellere terram, advehi, advolvi genua (once also with dat. and instead of

*pro*volvi genibus), incidere, involare, irrepere, irrumpere, incursare, insultare, eniti, evadere, egredi, elabi, erumpere, exire, intervenire (generally with dat.), interfluere, obtrectare.

Also with verbs compounded with *ante* and *prae:* antecedere, antecellere, anteire (also with dat. as in Cicero and Caesar), antevenire, praejacere, praefluere, praecellere, praeminere (only in Tacitus), praesidere, praecurrere, praevehi, praevenire.

(*d*) With *indulgere* (allow) and *penetrare,* both only in the Annals.

(*e*) With *middle* and *passive verbs:* nec quidquam prius imbuuntur (H. 5: 5); bracas indutus (H. 2: 20); aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam (after Virgil, H. 3: 94); falsa exterritus (Ann. 4: 28); arguitur pleraque — quae cuncta revincebatur.

This Greek usage was first introduced by Virgil, and then adopted into prose by Livy, but was little used in the silver age of the language.

§ 26. Accusative of the *kindred idea* or *its attribute* with: excusare (to plead as an *excuse*); falsum renidere (to smile a *false smile*), vincere and pervincere aliquid (to conquer something, gain some *conquest*). The strictly kindred idea, rare in writers of the classical period, more frequent in Livy and Gellius, is found only in the Ann. 12: 31, clara facinora facere.

§ 27. The *adverbial accusative;* as, cetera, alia, nihil. The last also in Cicero; *cetera* alone in Sallust and Livy.

Id temporis, id aetatis, id auctoritatis is found only in the Annals, but they were encouraged by the writers of the classical period, except Cæsar and Sallust.

2. The Dative.

§ 28. We find the *dative* as an object with the verbs: livere, patrocinari, ingemere, illaborare, incumbere, excusari (for vitare), reticere, se proripere, extrahi, jubere, excipere (Agr. 15).

§ 29. *Mihi est volenti* (Agr. 18; H. 3: 43). This Greek usage corresponds to that in Ann. 1: 9, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat. *Volentia* (H. 3: 52; Ann. 15: 36), in a middle or passive sense, is imitated from Sallust, and is incorrect.

§ 30. *Dative of advantage:* oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt (Germ. 33); tanquam fratri proditionem ageret (H. 2: 26); imperatori suo militare (like *servire*) (H. 3: 53); sibi tres legiones procubuisse (Ann. 1: 59); cunctos — sibique et proelio firmabat (Ann. 1: 71). Here, also, belongs the poetic form: non referre decori (Ann. 15: 65).

§ 31. Dative of *end* or *aim*.

(*a*) Here we find particularly nouns of the fourth declension: as, irrisui esse, derisui, despectui, metui, obtentui, ostentui, usui, potui, victui, vestitui, venatui adornatus, indutui gerere, visui praeberi; also the uncommon form: veno dare (Ann. 4: 1), veno posita (14: 15). This construction is very rare in Livy and the strictly classical writers, but common in later writers.

(*b*) He often uses this dative, instead of the prepositions *ad* and *in with the accusative:* custodiae appositus (Ann. 1: 18); properantibus Blaesus advenit (possibly an abl. absolute); jamque pectori usque accreverat (1: 19); centurionem morti deposcit (Ann. 1: 23); incessit itineri et proelio (Ann. 1: 51), and so often. This unclassical usage is from the influence of Virgil. For the dative of gerunds, compare § 108.

§ 32. The dative *for the gen.* depending upon nouns, so common with no writer as with Tacitus, is a *dative of advantage:* suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus; subsidia dominationi; plures seditioni duces; rector juveni; virtuti pretium; initium, causa, and finis bello; paci firmator; custos saluti, corpori; minister bello, sceleribus; pignus societati; dona templis; avo comes; materia sceleri; plebi tribunus erat; Druso proavus.

§ 33. *Adjectives and participles* with the dative: promptus, socors (also with the gen.), mitis, facilis, arrogans, inexpertus, intrepidus, superstes (also with gen.), novus, diversus, intentus (also with *ad* and *in*), inhabilis, firmus (Agr. 35).

In general, Tacitus has given the use of the dat. a wider extension than others.

3. The Ablative.

§ 34. *Ablative of separation without a preposition:*

(*a*) With the *names of countries:* Aegypto, Armenia, Etruria, Britannia, Gallia, Italia, Judaea, Syria. This use of the abl. is not found in Cicero, Sallust, and Livy, but first in Cæsar. The later writers use it more frequently than Tacitus.

(*b*) With *common nouns:* testudine labi; sublatum capite diadema; profugus altaribus taurus. So, also, we find the ablative without a preposition with: promere, depromere, procedere, progredi, prorumpere, impedire, abire, abhorrere, extrahere, and recens. In this he imitates the poets.

§ 35. The *ablative of place.* Imitated from the poetic style, this is

found, not only accompanied by an adjective, as in writers of the classical age, but also alone: as, tumulo, Delo, saxo Seripho, campo aut litore, lateribus aut fronte, suggesto, balineis, crepidinibus, campis, medio (in the midst), plano, vicino; vestigiis insequi.

§ 36. Ablative of the *personal instrument* without *ab:* castra corruptoribus tentare; desertus suis; utrisque deserti; captam exercitibus; legionibus petitum; and thus often. This usage is poetic.

§ 37. Ablative of *manner without a preposition:* catervis et cuneis concurrebant; fama spe vel dolore accipitur; clamore et impetu circumfunduntur; incultu atque eo ferocius agitabant; tot adstantium visu (= in conspectu); impetu pervagatum incendium.

§ 38. Ablative of *quality with brachilogy:* vir facundus et pacis artibus ("and *one* of peaceful arts"); Blaesus multa dicendi arte (*a man* of much art in speaking); Tubero defecto corpore; Balbus truci eloquentia habebatur; habebatur erudito luxu. The writers of the classical period use such abbreviated expressions but rarely. Compare § 45.

§ 39. The ablative of *cause*, in the subjective and objective sense, without an accompanying participle, is common in the Annals, though rare in the History. In the History and the Annals we find *eoque* instead of *ideoque*, but in the smaller writings of Tacitus we find both forms. With *invidere* (Germ. 33; Ann. 1: 22; 13: 63), it is post-classical; and in Ann. 3: 38, postulare repetundis, we should expect the genitive.

4. The Genitive.

§ 40. The *partitive or quantitative genitive* after neuter adjectives and pronouns:

(*a*) With the *singular* of such words: eo loci; eodem loci (also in Cicero); id solicitudinis; extremo paludis; medio temporis; certo anni; diverso terrarum; and so frequently, but only in the History and Annals.

(*b*) But more frequently with the *plural:* as, alia honorum (Ann. 1: 9; 3: 52); alia sumptuum (Ann. 3: 52); cuncta curarum (1: 35); cuncta scelerum (Ann. 14: 60); media campi; subita belli; Orientis secreta; pauca campestrium; laeva maris; extrema Asiæ; novissima Libyæ; particularly with adjectives designating localities: as, summa, avia, prima, intima, profunda, aperta, operta, inculta, occulta, prominentia, obstantia, edita, altiora, ardua, abrupta, and the like. Sometimes there is no partitive meaning apparent in such cases in

Tacitus, which there always is in Cicero. But in Virgil we find strata viarum = stratae viae.

Not only post-classical, but very uncommon even in the silver age of the language, is the use of a preposition before such an adjective in the singular: as, *in* extremo Ponticae orae (H. 3: 47); *in* prominenti litoris (Ann. 1: 53); *in* proximo Campaniae (Ann. 4: 74); *post* multum vulnerum (Ann. 12: 56). We find this usage first in Livy, then in Curtius, Justin, and Apuleius.

§ 41. The genitive with *adverbs:* as, eo furoris venire; eo usque corruptionis provectus est; eo contemptionis descensum; ire quoquo terrarum; huc arrogantiae venerat. We find in Cicero also the gen. with *ubi, ubicumque* and *longe,* but not with *eo* or *huc.* From the time of Livy the usage became more common. The gen. with *ut* in Ann. 15: 53 (*ut* quisque audentiae habuisset) is a pure Grecism.

Sponte with the gen. (found also in the elder Pliny and Lucan) is found frequently in the History and Annals, but not in the smaller writings of Tacitus.

§ 42. After the analogy of the objective genitive, the personal *pronouns* in the gen. are used both subjectively and objectively, and instead of the possessive pronoun as in the Greek: as, a primordio sui (H. 3: 34); primo sui incessu (H. 4: 24); nostri origine (Ann. 2: 54); insolentia nostri (Ann. 3: 38); initia nostri (Ann. 6: 32); longam sui absentiam (15: 36). Something of this usage is found in Cicero; in later writers it is found frequently.

§ 43. The *objective genitive with verbs.* Besides *egere* and *indigere,* with which the gen. is sometimes found in other authors also, the following are used with the case only in the Annals of Tacitus: *monere,* for which strictly classical writers use a compound form, and *adipisci,* after the analogy of *potiri.*

§ 44. The genitive with *certain adjectives,* expressing either, —

(*a*) A *transitive* relation, equivalent to a participle with its case; as, properus (hastening for, seizing), providus, improvidus, prudens, praescius, callidus, rudis, acer, segnis, incuriosus, socors, tacitus, expers, and many others.

(*b*) Some *particular* or *respect,* like an abl. of relation or limitation, very frequently with *animi:* as, incertus animi, also with laetus, turbidus, ferox, aeger, fidens, ingens, validus, promptus, captus, diversus. Already the comic writers and Cicero had used the phrase pendere *animi,* and Livy nimius, incertus *animi,* and the like, but very rarely. Tacitus, on the contrary, uses the construction in

numerous connections: as, certus *and* incertus alicujus rei, securus potentiae, anxius sui *and* potentiae, trepidus admirationis et metus, modicus voluptatum, immodicus animi, laetitiae, moeroris; ingens rerum, nimius sermonis *and* linguae, praestantissimus sapientiae, ferox scelerum, inglorius militiae, irritus legationis, spernendus morum, manifestus delicti (also in Sallust), constans fidei, melior furandi, diversus sententiae, *and* morum, aequus absentium (Ann. 6:36), atrox odii, procax otii (used once), orandi validus, colonia virium et opum valida, factorum innocens, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus, praecipuus circumveniendi Titii Sabini, luendae poenae primus.

Of the two classes of adjectives referred to above, those with a *transitive* meaning were used with the gen. by authors in all ages of the language; but the second class, with a gen. in an abl. relation, were used rarely before Tacitus, and sparingly after him.

§ 45. The *genitive of quality* with brachilogy: obsidionem flagitii ratus; pergere ad Treveros et externae fidei (scil. *gentes*); Lentulus senectutis extremae (i.e. a *man* of extreme old age), and thus often. In like manner, also, Cæsar has in his Gallic War (5: 6): quod eum magni animi, magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis (scil. *virum*) cognoverat. We find the same usage also in Livy, Nepos, and the later historical writers.

E. The Attribute.

§ 46. The *noun* as attribute: mare oceanus (the *ocean* sea), mare Hadria, sidus comes, promontorium Misenum (also Miseni), vetus oppidum Puteoli, imperator populus, Jovi liberatori.

§ 47. The attribute expressed by a clause in *apposition:* as, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum (Ann. 1: 27), and the like often. This apposition, expressing the *end* or *object* of an action, is found occasionally in Horace, and also in Sallust and Livy. But, as a rule, in writers of the classical period a relative sentence is used in such cases, or a simple appositional noun governed by the verb in the principal sentence.

F. Of Prepositions.

§ 48. *In* is used with a neuter adjective in the *ablative* instead of a predicate nominative: as, in confesso est (it is admitted), in incerto, in aperto, in ambiguo, in arto, in integro, and the like. Sometimes, also, in Livy, but especially in the later writers.

§ 49. *In* with the *accusative* where no motion is implied: in custodiam habitus; aderant semisomnos in barbaros; advenae in nos regnaverant; in medium relinquam.

Instead of *ad:* in manus venire (after Sallust and Livy); paratus in obsequium; prodesse in rem.

Instead of *cum:* nova nobis in fratrum filias conjugia.

Instead of the *dative:* in reliquos data venia; aetate et forma haud dissimili in dominum (once Ann. 2: 39).

In used to express the *result* or *aim:* as, in majus vulgare, audiri, crediti, innotescere; in falsum augeri; in deterius augere, referre, audiri; in spem, in incertum et ambiguum, in saevitiam; evicta in lacrimas; vulnere in mortem afficere, affigere. More frequently than in any other prose writer; but Livy has: in majus, in deterius.

§ 50. *Apud* instead of *in* with the ablative. This often occurs with names of countries and cities, after the analogy of the names of peoples: as, apud Germaniam (Ann. 4: 18). It is only in the Annals that it is found with the names of islands and common nouns: as, apud urbem Nolam, apud municipium, apud paludes. Occasionally, also, in Cicero: as, apud villam, and before him also in Plautus and Terence.

§ 51. *Inter* instead of an ablative absolute: as, inter male parentes, etc. (Agr. 32); ita neutris cura posteritatis inter infensos vel obnoxios (instead of. cum alii infensi alii obnoxii essent, H. 1: 1); inter gaudentes et incuriosos (H. 1: 34); visa inter temulentos arma (H. 1: 80); inter discordes (H. 2: 92).

§ 52. *Circa* in the meaning "concerning," "in regard to:" circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt; omne tempus circa Medeam consumas, and thus often. But only in the silver age of the language is this usage very common. *Citra* in the sense "without," sometimes occurring in Ovid, is used only in the three smaller writings of Tacitus.

§ 53. *Per* in various meanings: per iram ("in anger"); per silentium, per intervalla; per lamenta ac moerorem; acies per cuneos componitur; consistunt per cohortes et manipulos. Per nimiam fiduciam ("from," "through"); per speciem amicitiae ("under"); per nomen agrorum; per nomen obsidum. Entirely uncommon is the phrase in Agr. 40: magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare (instead of *ex*, or the ablative).

§ 54. The use of *sub* by Tacitus: sub judice damnare; sub custode; certis sub legibus; sub nominibus honestis; sub nomine Neronis; sub eodem crimine vincire; sub exemplo; claro sub exemplo.

§ 55. *Super* is used by Tacitus.

(*a*) Instead of *praeter:* super virtutem; super insitam violentiam; and thus often, as, also, in Livy.

(*b*) Instead of *de:* super re scribere, consultare, credere. This usage, very rare in the strictly classical writers, is entirely wanting in Cæsar, but common in the later writers.

§ 56. *Ex* in Tacitus is used to express the origin, the cause, the immediate succession in time, the manner of an action: as, ex re consulere; ex modo alicujus rei; and finally he uses it with neuter adjectives instead of adverbs: as, ex facili (easily), ex aequo, ex affluenti, after the Greek.

§ 57. *Erga* is sometimes used for *adversus* ("against," "towards," in an unfriendly sense): as, sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio; fastus erga patrias epulas; discordia erga Germanicum. So, also, in Nepos: odium erga aliquem.

§ 58. *Juxta:* velocitas juxta formidinem (kindred to fear); populi imperium juxta libertatem (Ann. 6: 42). In this sense only in Tacitus.

§ 59. He sometimes uses the *rare prepositions:* adusque, abusque, simul, but only in the Annals.

§ 60. The *interchange* of prepositions with each other, or of prepositions and cases as a substitute: as, ad–in, ob–pro, in–apud, in–adversus, inter–apud, per–in; adversus, apud, ad, in or inter, are exchanged with the dative; per, ob, and ex, with the ablative. Passages with these exchanges are found only in the History and Annals. We find them occasionally in Livy, very rarely in strictly classical writers. In Tacitus they are very common. For the anastrophe of prepositions, see § 115.

III. CO-ORDINATION IN SENTENCES.

A. Connection by Particles.

1. *By Copulative Conjunctions.*

(*a*) Not Correlatives.

§ 61. In the smaller writings of Tacitus, *et* and *neque* connect several subjects, or objects, or clauses in compound co-ordinate sentences, but not in the Annals. Such sentences are called *polysindeta*. *Et* connecting the *third* member of a sentence is rare in the Annals,

but common in his other writings: as, hastas, saxa et faces; socios, cives et deos ipsos precor; atrox, avidum et societati impatiens. This is avoided in writers of the classical period, except when the two members connected by *et* are viewed as one.

Et is found, also, as a connective in negative sentences: non proelium et acies parantur; non satis expolitus et splendens; nihil usquam prisci et integri moris; non vox et mutui hortatus juvabant. In earlier writers *nec, aut, ac,* or *que* was used in such cases.

Et ("also"), not used in this sense in Cæsar, and very sparingly in Cicero, is common in Livy, and a favorite with Tacitus and the writers of his time. For the sake of euphony *jam et* was always used instead of *jam etiam.*

§ 62. *Et* instead of *quum* after the words with a temporal meaning: interim, nondum, necdum, jam, simul. In this, writers after Livy imitated Virgil.

§ 63. The copulative particles *que, et, ac, atque* are used *interchangeably* in the History and Annals: as, Vulcano et Cereri Proserpinaeque; Tiberii Caiique et Claudii ac Neronis; Pharasmani Polemonique et Aristobulo atque Antiocho; tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus.

§ 64. Other peculiarities, occurring very rarely and only in his larger works, are: *et alii* instead of alii–alii; *necdum* instead of nondum; *et quoque* (used since the time of Livy) and *quoque non.*

(*b*) CORRELATIVE COPULATIVES.

§ 65. Instead of the regular correlative copulatives *et–et* (both and, so well as also), we find occasionally the following:

(*a*) *que–que,* but only in the Annals. Exceptions in the classical writers and Livy, these are never found in Cæsar and Suetonius.

(*b*) *que–et:* as, Agr. 18, H. 4: 2, 42, and eight times in the Annals; found also in Sallust, Livy, Velleius, and Curtius, but not in Cicero, Cæsar, Suetonius, Nepos, Florus, and Justin. In such cases *que* is always joined to *se, sibi,* or *ipse* in Tacitus, but with a noun in Livy.

(*c*) *que–ac* (atque) only in his larger works, and there only three times, viz., H. 3: 63; Ann. 4: 3 and 34: opibusque atque honoribus. This does not occur in classical prose, and only once in Ovid, Livy, and Curtius.

§ 66. *Ne–quidem* for emphasis instead of *neque:* Germ. 7, 37, 44; H. 2: 82; Ann. 1: 4: prima ab infantia—ne iis quidem annis. Found only in Tacitus.

2. *Adversative Conjunctions.*

§ 67. *Non modo — sed* (without *etiam* or *quoque*), found only in the larger works of Tacitus, was sparingly used by Cicero and Sallust, and commonly used only after the time of Livy. We also find *sed et* instead of *sed etiam* in Ann. 1: 12; 14: 21; Germ. 17, 35, 45.

In other places in the History and Annals we find *non modo* or *non solum* followed merely by *etiam* or *quoque* without *sed:* as, H. 2: 27; Ann. 3: 19, 4: 35; once also in Livy.

3. *Disjunctive Conjunctions.*

§ 68. *Vel* instead of *aut:* oblivione vel gloria (H. 1: 21); vel si relinqueretur (Ann. 13: 41); vincendum vel cadendum (Ann. 14: 35). *Sive* instead of *aut:* se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore (H. 2: 1). *Vel–sive:* Dialog. 5. *Sive–an:* sive fatali vecordia an — ratus (Ann. 11: 26). Often *sive* instead of sive–sive.

The interchange of the particles is only *apparent* in Ann. 14: 7, sive servitia armaret vel militem accenderet sive, etc. Here *vel* is subordinate to the *sive,* and not its co-ordinate. So in Ann. 14: 59 (sive–an); H. 3: 8 (vel–an); 2: 41 (an–vel).

4. *Causal Conjunctions.*

§ 69. *namque* is found in the Annals before vowels as well as before consonants. It stands after one or more words in its sentence in Ann. 1: 5 & 4: 21, as in the poets, also in Livy and the later writers.

Nempe enim only in Dialogue 35. As a like pleonasm we find in after times: nempe ergo, nempe igitur, quia enim, quod enim, ergo igitur.

B. Omission of Conjunctions in Discourse (Asyndeton).

§ 70. The genuine asyndeton, denoting the rapid progress of an action, and used more or less by all historical writers, was a great favorite with Tacitus (see Ann. 1: 28, 41, 64, 70; 2: 19; 15: 69). It was also often employed by him in giving an outline statement of facts (as in H. 1: 2), or in a brief sketch of a case in indirect discourse, as in Ann. 3: 69.

— § 71. *Enumerative asyndeton.*

(1) Simple enumeration of particulars *without tending to a climax:* munia senatus, magistratuum, legum; filius, collega, imperii con-

but common in his other writings: as, hastas, saxa et faces; socios, cives et deos ipsos precor; atrox, avidum et societati impatiens. This is avoided in writers of the classical period, except when the two members connected by *et* are viewed as one.

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sors; vallum, fossas, pabuli, materiae, lignorum adgestus; consules, patres, eques; vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis; arma, equi; Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos, &c. More rarely with verbs: agerent, verterent cuncta odio et terrore (H. 1: 2); pulsaverat, exterruerat (Ann. 6: 24). But regularly with the imperative: amate, colite; ite, nuntiate; suscipite, regite–explete.

(2) With a *climactic tendency:* illicitum, anceps; vatum, annalium; clamore, telis; vulnera, fugas, luctus; consilio, manu, voce; manu, voce, vulnere; vultu, voce, oculis; vultu, voce, lacrimis; proelium–varium, anceps, atrox; bellum impeditum, arduum, cruentum; perfidum, ignavum, victum hostem. Rarely thus with verbs: as, intueri, mirari (H. 2: 70); incussant, turbant (Ann. 2: 19). This form of the asyndeton was a great favorite with the younger Pliny.

Although all these forms of asyndeton were employed by the writers of the classical period, yet none used them so extensively as Tacitus has done.

§ 72. In the co-ordinate asyndetic arrangement of sentences, there is great variety in the use of *pronouns, numerals, adjectives,* and *adverbs:* as, hic–ille; ille–hic; hic–hic; hi–illi–plurimi; alii–alii–plerique; alii–multi; alios–quosdam; multos–quosdam; pars–pars–alii; pars–alii–plurimi; alios–multos–omnes; alii–alii–plerique–plures; pauci–plures–alii–pars multo maxima; plerisque–pluribus; pauci–plerique.

And of *adverbs:* tum–tum; simul–simul; et–simul; modo–nunc; modo–sepius; modo–rursus; modo–aliquando (but all these variations with *modo* are wanting in his smaller writings); primo–dein–diutissimi; dein–deinde–mox; hinc–inde; inde–hinc; alibi–alibi.

§ 73. *Summative asyndeton,* several asyndetic ideas being summed up in a word or phrase: as, vim sanitatem copias, *cuncta* in victoria habuere; legiones provincias classes, *cuncta;* alimonio servitio cultu, *omnibus* externis; dolorem caritatem, *omnes* affectus.

§ 74. *Adversative asyndeton* in pairs: huc illuc; cominus eminus; lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem miscebant; honesta prava; per laeta per adversa; laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta; spes timor, ratio casus; vana et reo non profitura, intercessori exitiosa; fruerentur sane vocabulo civitatis: insignia patrum, decora magistratuum ne vulgarent (Ann. 11: 23). This was used, also, by Cicero and the best historians.

§ 75. *Asyndeton* by the introduction of *parenthetic expressions:* as, fateor; flagitium incognitum; ita illis mos; causae in incerto fuere; *rarum* etiam inter hostes; *incertum* an, etc.; *dubium* an, etc. Parenthet-

ical expressions with *incertum* are found also in Livy, Curtius, Suetonius, and Justin, and with *dubium* in Ovid, Quintilian, Suetonius, Justin, and Florus; but with *rarum* only in the Annals of Tacitus.

IV. SUBORDINATE SENTENCES.

A. Substantive Sentences.

§ 76. Sentences with *ut* (that) are found in Tacitus depending upon: sino, perpetro, posco, opus est, sufficit, expedit, spes, jubeo, subigo, opperior; all which are unclassical.

§ 77. *Ne* (that not) is used as follows: quae causa fuit ne, etc. (Ann. 3: 38; in Livy 5: 55, causa *ut*); quos ne nominatim tradam, majoribus eorum tribuendum puto (Ann. 14: 11); perpetro ne, etc. (Ann. 14: 11); enisus ne (Ann. 14: 28).

§ 78. The *subjunctive without ut* or *ne:* feriret hortabantur; orabant puniret noxios; postulat coiretur. These cases are regular, but the bare subj. after *pepigere* and *jubere* are new with Tacitus (the last is found, however, in the classical poets).

§ 79. The *bare infinitive* after *esse* (est videre; conjectare erat, like the Greek). After: dari, negotium dare, certare, flagitare, cupido est, cura est, ratio est, nec deerat, contingit, mereri, niti, adniti, amplecti, incumbere, impellere, perpellere, subigere, adigere, arcere, instare, consentire, componere, orare, scribere, monere, admonere, hortari, cohortari, suadere, persuadere, praecipere, imperare, mandare, praescribere, nuntiare, denuntiare, optare, inducere, illicere, aemulari, deposcere, exposcere, dubitare, pangere, ambire, temperare.

The above cases, usually found in writers of the classical period with *ut* or some other construction instead of the simple infin., are characteristic of the later writers and those of the silver age of the language. But the infin. construction after: aemulor, compono, illicio, induco, pango, perpello, scribo, is found only in Tacitus.

§ 80. The *accusative with the infinitive* also has in Tacitus a wider use than in earlier writers, and is found after: impetrare, illacrimare, obstitit, adnectare (each of these four but once), orare, expostulare, gratari, suadere, cordi esse, perferre, permittere, prohibere, recusare, offensus. Also after the verbs of *accusing:* accusare, incusare, urgere (each of the three but once), coarguere (Cic. insimulare), and the negative expressions implying *doubt:* haud dubium est, nec dubium

habetur, neque dubitabitur, neque dubitaverim, num dubitamus, nemo dubitat, non ambigitur. The infin. with these negative expressions of doubt are not found in Cæsar and Sallust, and in Cicero only in Ad Fam. 16, 21, 2, but are common in Livy and Nepos, and occasional· in Suetonius.

The accus. with the infin. in modal and hypothetical sentences, found in H. 1: 17, ut–acquiri, and Ann. 2: 33, *nisi forte* clarissimo cuique plures curas, etc., are Greek constructions.

§ 81. *Indirect discourse is sometimes interrupted* by the use of the indicative in subordinate sentences: as, abstulerat–fecere (Ann. 1: 10); et quia–suberat (Ann. 3: 6), and often. Not uncommon in Livy, and abounding in Justin.

§ 82. The *nominative with the infinitive.*

(*a*) With *verbs:* reliquiae consedisse intelligebantur; adventare audiebatur; neque dubitabantur praescripta; additur scripsisse; annotatus praeriguisse; ceterae secuturae sperebantur; ariete, credito vexisse Phrixum; Bosporum invasurus habebatur (Ann. 12: 15). Also with verbs of *accusing* and *convicting:* defertur moliri res novas; incusabatur facile toleraturus, and with *argui* (also in Cicero), *convinci, compertus.* The usage is much more extended in Tacitus than in the earlier writers.

(*b*) With *adjectives* and participial adjectives: certus, properus, manifestus, suspectus, peritus, eruditus, facilis, factus, exercitus, suetus. This usage, foreign to good prose and imitated from the poets, is rare even in the later writers.

§ 83. *Indirect questions.* Here, like the writers of the silver age of the language, *an* is used much more frequently than *num;* with an ellipsis of the verb only in his larger works, as in Ann. 1: 13, casu *an* manibus ejus impeditus; also Ann. 1: 65, 2: 42. Very rare in strictly classical authors.

B. Attributive or Adjective Sentences.

§ 84. *ut qui,* though generally followed by the subj., is found once with the indic. (Germ. 22), as also in Livy and Curtius. And in Agr. 18 we find *quippe qui* instead of *ut qui.*

§ 85. *Relative adverbs and adjectives* are sometimes found with the *subjunctive* as implying a *condition:* as, aderat fortuna, etiam ubi artes defuissent (ubi, "where," "if anywhere"); quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent (Ann. 4: 70); unde utilitas ostenderetur, illuc libi-

dinem transferebat (Ann. 13: 45). Also with the general relative: quoquo inclinarent (Ann. 3: 74). Very rare in strictly classical authors, most frequent in Livy, Suetonius, and Nepos.

§ 86. *Attraction into the case of the relative:* ad ea quis (quibus) maxime fidebant in populum Romanum officiis (instead of *officia*, Ann. 4: 56). This attraction of the noun is rare in prose, but quite common in the poets. But the attraction of the *attribute* into the case of the relative is more common in classical authors: gladii, quos praelongos (instead of *praelongi*) regunt (H. 1: 79); quae utrubique pulchra (Ann. 6: 37).

§ 87. The relative does not always *agree with its antecedent:* raptis, quod cuique obvium, telis (H. 3: 80); legationes — quorum (= quarum rerum) copia fessi patres (3: 63). The neuter plural of the relative is sometimes used thus by Cicero, and by Sallust and Livy in both the singular and the plural.

C. Temporal Sentences.

§ 88. A *repeated* action is often expressed by the subjunctive after *cum, quoties, ubi, ut,* but only in the History and Annals, and once after *ubi* in Agr. 9. Only occasionally in Cicero and Livy, not at all in Sallust and Velleius; but very frequently in the writers of the silver age of the language, especially in Suetonius.

§ 89. *Postquam* is found not only with the perfect, as in the earlier writers, but often also with the imperfect and pluperfect; and occasionally even with the present of the verbs *videre, intelligere,* and habere (Ann. 14: 44).

§ 90. *Dum* (while) with the imperfect and perfect, as in Cicero. With the indicative of the present even in *indirect discourse,* as it had been before by Livy and Curtius.

Dum sometimes has *a causal meaning* ("inasmuch as," "since"): dum affirmant (H. 1: 22); dum vetera extollimus (Ann. 2: 88). Thus often in the Annals, rare in Cicero, but common with the later writers.

§ 91. *Donec* (until) is often found with the subjunctive even where a reality or fact is related. It almost supersedes the use of *quoad* in Tacitus, which is found only in the meaning "as long as," and that only in Ann. 4: 61, and 6: 51.

§ 92. *The historical infinitive in subordinate* sentences, with *cum, ubi, ut, postquam,* and *donec:*

(*a*) Where the principal sentence *precedes:* H. 3: 31; Ann. 2: 31 and 40, 4: 50, 6: 19 and 44, 13: 57, 14: 5. Very rare in Sallust and Livy.

(*b*) Where the principal sentence *follows*, and a finite verb depending on the same conjunction as the infin.: as, sed ubi minitari Artabanus, et — sumendum erat (Ann. 2: 4).

D. Modal Sentences.

1. *Comparative Sentences.*

§ 93. *Perinde — quam*, H. 1: 30; Ann. 4: 20, 6: 30 and often. *Haud perinde — quam*, H. 2: 27; Ann. 2: 1, 5: 14 and 48. *Perinde — quasi*, Ann. 13: 47 (with ac si, 12: 60). *Perinde — quam si*, Ann. 1: 73, 13: 49. The last only in Tacitus.

Aeque — quam commonly with the negatives *nihil, nullus, haud:* H. 2: 10; Ann. 2: 52, 4: 49 (with *ac*, H. 4: 5). Found also in Livy, Suetonius, and the younger Pliny. *Secus quam*, Ann. 4: 8, 6: 22, found also in classical writers.

§ 94. *Super id quod* (= praeterquam quod), Ann. 4: 11, is found only in Tacitus, but is formed after what is found in Livy: as, ad id quod, super quam quod, insuper quam.

§ 95. *Tanquam, quasi, ut,* and *velut* are not always comparative in meaning, but are sometimes *causal*, expressing an assumed reason (like the Greek ὡς): as, H. 1: 48; Ann. 12: 39, tanquam ducem bellum absumpsisset; tanquam satis expleta ultione (Ann. 13: 43). *Ut:* Ann. 3: 74, ut in limine belli. *Velut:* H. 5: 4; Ann. 11: 27. *Quasi* only in the Ann.: as, 12: 47, 13: 18, and often.

2. *Proportional Sentences.*

§ 96. *Ut quis* (instead of *ut quisque*, "in proportion as each one"), Ann. 4: 23, 36, 6: 7. With the subjunctive of repetition: H. 1: 51, Ann. 1: 27, ut quis occurreret.

In quantum (as far as), Dial. 2: 21, 41; Ann. 13: 54. Found first in Velleius, then in the later writers.

Quantum ad (as far as concerns): Germ. 21; Agr. 44; H. 5: 10; but not found in the Annals. First used by Ovid and then by Seneca.

§ 97. Incomplete Comparisons:

(*a*) *Eo* wanting: quanto plus spei ad effugium, minorem, etc. (H. 3: 18). *Eo magis* also wanting: ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur (Ann. 1: 2); Ann. 2:

11, 59, and often. Compare Livy 25: 38, quo audacius erat, magis placebat.

(*b*) *magis* wanting in one member: quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus (Ann. 1: 57); pacem quam bellum probabam (Ann. 1: 58); quanto inopina, tanto majora (Ann. 1: 68); miseratio quam invidia augebatur (Ann. 3: 17), also 3: 43, 4: 48. Indeed, the comparison is rarely expressed in complete form.

(*c*) *The positive for the comparative:* vehementius quam caute (Agr. 4); acrius quam considerate (H. 1: 83); quantum hebes — tanto promptior (H. 2: 99). Similar to this is Ann. 2: 73, tanto promptius assecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum—praestitisset (the comparative idea being contained in the verb). So in Livy, 5: 10.

3. *Sentences denoting Consequence or Result.*

§ 98. *Ut* with the subj. of the *historical perfect* is not found in the Dialogue or in Germania, but is common in the History and the Annals: as, H. 1: 24; Ann. 1: 18, 56, 80. This is usually preceded by *adeo, tantus, tam,* more rarely by *is* or *eo,* and once by *ita* (Agr. 18). This use of the tense in Cicero and Cæsar is very rare, is wholly wanting in Sallust, somewhat used by Livy, and very frequently by Suetonius and Nepos.

§ 99. *Quin* and *quominus.* — *Quin* in many places in the Annals has almost an *adversative* meaning: Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant quin tormenta pectoris —fateretur (6: 6). Silurum gens non clementia mutabatur quin bellum sumeret (= sed bellum sumpsit, 12: 32), also 3: 27, 6: 38, 11: 22. So in Cicero, Ad Fam. 5: 12: deesse mihi nolui quin te admonerem.

Quin instead of *quo minus* (Ann. 14: 29): quin ultra bellum properet, morte prohibitus est.

Quo minus also is sometimes *adversative* in meaning: as, Agr. 20; Ann. 1: 21, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam — permoverent; also 5: 5, 13: 14, 14: 39. In the History, *quo minus* is found instead of *quin* or the infin.

Tacitus uses both these particles more extensively than other writers.

E. Causal Sentences.

§ 100. *Quando* in a causal sense: H. 1: 90; Ann. 1: 44, 4: 64, and often. Thus, also, not only in the poets, but in Cicero, Livy, and Suetonius.

Quatenus in Dial. 5: 19; Ann. 3: 16, and often. Rarely used in a causal sense, but occasionally in Horace and Ovid.

For the causal use of *tanquam, quasi, ut, velut,* see § 95.

F. Final Sentences, expressing the End or Issue.

§ 101. *Ne* with brachylogy: H. 2: 23, diffisus paucitati cohortium, ne longius obsidium — parum tolerarent, where *veritus* is to be supplied in the final sentence, being omitted as if implied in *diffisus.* Ann. 11: 15, sed benignitati, etc.; 12: 47, visui tamen, etc. A usage not found elsewhere.

G. Conditional Sentences.

§ 102. *Si, nisi* (*ni*), *seu* (*sive*) with the subjunctive of repetition: si mali forent (H. 1: 49); si quando assideret (Ann. 2: 57); si quando disceptaret (Ann. 4: 7); nisi lacesseretur (5: 11); seu loqueretur seu taceret (4: 60). Such sentences are very rare in Livy and writers of the classical period, but very common in Suetonius and the later writers.

§ 103. *Indicative instead of the subjunctive in the principal sentence.*

(1) The *imperfect* indic. in such cases expresses:

(*a*) The *reality* of an action or state; as, ferrum parabant, ni miles — minas interjecisset (Ann. 1: 23). Thus often with *parare* and especially in the Annals. In such cases, the principal sentence generally precedes the subordinate sentence; in others, it follows it.

(*b*) The *duty* or *possibility* of performing the action: si te — adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat, etc. (H. 1: 16, 5: 26); si — aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat (Ann. 1: 42). The subordinate sentence stands *after* the principal sentence only once, Ann. 4: 19.

(2) The *pluperfect indicative* indicates the *continuance* of the action or state up to some past time designated in the conditional clause: Agr. 37; H. 3: 27; Ann. 4: 9, impleverat, 6: 9; contremuerat, 43: 15, 50.

Both these tenses are found thus in strictly classical writers, but not in Cæsar.

§ 104. The conditional sentence often depends upon a *future participle:* rapturi imperium, ni ducantur (H. 3: 19); 4: 39; si omitteretur — invasurus (Ann. 1: 36), 1: 45, 2: 17. So in Livy and the later writers, but not in Nepos or the strictly classical writers.

§ 105. *Nedum* with a *positive* principal sentence: cuicunque nedum

parenti, defensionem tribuendam (Ann. 13: 20), 15: 59; H. 3: 66. In strictly classical writers, it is preceded by a negative word or a negative idea.

H. Concessive Sentences.

§ 106. *Quanquam* almost always with the subjunctive, only eighteen times with the indic.; as, for example: H. 1: 68; Ann. 2: 35, 12: 11: 31. *Quamvis* with the subjunctive signifying a fact: Dial. 2; H. 2: 59; Ann. 1: 68, 2: 38, 11: 20, and often. Very common in Suetonius and the later writers.

V. ABRIDGED SUBORDINATE SENTENCES.

1. *Expressed by the Gerund and Gerundive.*

§ 107. *Elliptical genitive* of the gerund, only in the later books of the Annals: Ann. 13: 26, nec grave manumissis per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem (instead of *retinere*, or *ut retineant*); 15: 5, vitandi; 15: 21, ostentandi. This gen. depends upon some implied general idea to be supplied (res, mos, or the like).

§ 108. *Causal genitive* of the gerundive: abolendae infamiae (Ann. 1: 3); Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis ("that he might learn," Ann. 2: 59); also 3: 7, 9, 27, 41; H. 4: 25, and often, but not in his smaller writings. This Greek usage, introduced by Terence and Sallust, is unclassical, and little used even by later writers, except Tacitus.

§ 109. *Dative of the gerundive.*

(*a*) After *adjectives:* Germ. 11; H. 4: 1, accendendo bello acer; Ann. 1: 23, perferendis mandatis idoneus. We find it also in the Annals after aptus, opportunus, callidus, inhabilis, impenetrabilis, intentus, facilis, egregius, validus, potior, promptus, nudus, humidus.

(*b*) After *verbs*, sometimes as a pure final sentence, but only in the History and Annals: H. 3. 57, Julianum permulcendis militum animis delegit ("that he might soothe"). Thus eleven other times with *deligere*. Also: cetera expugnandis urbibus secum attulissent (H. 3: 20); balneas abluendo cruori propere petit (3: 32). After *ducere:* Ann. 2: 21, 13: 29: 32, and often. Also after: cavere, deesse, ponere, dare, fingere, firmare, instituere, praeficere, praeponere, praesidere, sufficere, parare, *mittere* (the last, however, only with *ad* in the

History); immittere, praemittere, vagari, venire, digredi, pergere, adhibere, insumere; spectaculum editur, relictus, reservare, retinere, recludere, rapere exercitum, destinare, afferre, offerre, creare, eximere, poscere, adornare, subdere reos, pecuniam contrahere. When such datives have a pure final meaning, they are post-classical and belong especially to the silver age of the language. So occasionally we find the bare gerund in the dative: Ann. 15: 16, testificando misset; also 13: 11, and 3: 17, restaurando sufficeret.

2. *By the Participle.*

§ 110. *The perfect participle as an abbreviated sentence.*

(*a*) *Deponent participles:* as, ausus (having dared, since he had dared), secutus, percunctatus, insectatus, arsus, conflictatus, praedatus, adhortatus, amplexus, complexus, vectus, nihil cunctatus, demoratus, miseratus.

(*b*) *Passive participles:* ictus, confossus, exactus. So, also, in the ablative absolute: H. 1: 2, consumptis delubris (in consequence of which temples were burned); decuma parte relicta (H. 1: 20); raptis armis (H. 1: 63); Ann. 1: 77, occisis; 4: 55, missis in Graeciam populis (because they had been sent); deusto monte Caelio (4: 64); deusta parte circi (6: 45); interfectis (12: 17); interfectis — vulneratis (14: 37); spoliatis (15: 45); ademptis (15: 71).

The perfect participles of deponent verbs were commonly used thus in the classical period, but not those of passive verbs. Yet we find in Cicero, Ad Att. 7: 21, 2, ut statim exirent urbe relicta. The like also is met with in Cæsar, Livy, and Curtius.

§ 111. *The perfect participle as a neuter substantive:* Germ. 31; observatum id — non terruit Galbam (H. 1: 18); accessit callide vulgatum, temere creditum, decumari legiones (1: 51); et celebritate loci nihil occultum (Ann. 3: 9). — In Cicero found only in two places, but very common in Livy: as, auditum, degeneratum, lege cautum, loco cessum, nuntiatum, pronunciatum, perlitatum, propter lapidatum, tentatum.

§ 112. *The ablative absolute as a neuter substantive.*

(*a*) Forms already used by Livy were: audito (Ann. 2: 7); cognito (1: 46); auspicato (H. 1: 84), comperto (nine times), explorato, nuntiato.

(*b*) Forms used first by Tacitus: addito, adjecto, certato, credito, disceptato, non distincto, edito, scripto, exspectato, intellecto, pensi-

tato, praedicto, properato, proviso, quaesito, repetito. — In like manner the neuter *adjectives* in the Annals: periculoso (1: 6); ita vasto et profundo (2: 24); libero (3: 60).

These absolute forms are not found in his smaller writings, and only six times in the History, and are characteristic of the style of the Annals. They are little used by earlier prose writers.

§ 113. *Participles with conjunctions: ut* jam jamque iturus (Ann. 1: 47); *quasi* rediturus (2: 63); *tanquam* recuperaturus (12: 49); *quasi* confecto bello (15: 8); *velut* confecto bello (H. 4: 71). So, also, with *quanquam, quamvis, quippe,* and the adverb *vixdum.*

Cicero uses thus: ut, quasi, statim; Cæsar: ut, etsi; Livy frequently: ut, utpote, tanquam, non antequam, statim, simul, extemplo, vixdum.

3. *By the Supine.*

§ 114. Supine I.: raptum, ultum, perditum, illusum, oratum *and* oppugnatum, generally with *ire.*

§ 115. Supine II.: auditu, cognitu, dictu, factu, memoratu, relatu, tractatu, visu. Occasionally, also, intellectu, occupatu, appulsu, rescriptu, rarus egressu, aditu, promptum effectu, mutatu.

THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

† § 116. Tacitus has many peculiarities in his *arrangement of words.* The cognomen is sometimes placed before the gentile name; as, Secundus Pomponius, Massa Bebius, Gallus Asinius. This was rare in strictly classical writers, but began with Livy, and is particularly common in Valeius. The designation of the *office* sometimes precedes the name; as, imperator Augustus, Cæsar Titus, procurator Marius, etc. This is rare in Cicero and Cæsar. — Most frequent is his transposition of the preposition from its proper place *before* its word to some other position, called *Anastrophe.* He places it not only after the pronouns *hic* or *qui,* which is common in classical writers, but sometimes in his History, and often in the Annals, places it after:

(*a*) A noun without an attribute: humantia ultra, Tiberim juxta, senatu coram, praeturam intra, paucas inter, humum infra,

urbem extra, hostem propter, humum super, oceano abusque. In this case, the preposition is always of *two syllables*. So occasionally in Cicero, Livy, and Suetonius.

(*b*) Between two *co-ordinate* nouns: Judaeam inter Suriamque, tumulos super et recentia caede vestigia, viam inter Mosellamque flumen, Misenum apud et Ravennam, Tarsam inter et Turesim, and thus often with *inter*. Here, too, the preposition is of two syllables. Found occasionally in Cæsar and Livy.

(*c*) Between a noun and its attribute which follows it: judice ab uno (Ann. 3: 10); partem in aliam (11: 3); lacu in ipso — urbe ex ipsa (12: 56). And so often with *ipse*. This usage was originally poetic, as in Virg. Aen. 3: 348, but adopted by Livy.

(*d*) Between two nouns in *apposition:* oppido a Canopo, montem apud Erycum, Arcade ab Evandro, Ferentino in oppido. This is a poetic usage.

(*e*) Between a *noun and a genitive* depending upon it: ornatum ad urbis, initio ab Suriae, sedes inter vestalium, ripam apud Euphratis, paucos inter senum regum. This is poetic also.

(*f*) After *two co-ordinate nouns:* Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter, dis et patria coram, Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul. First used by Virgil.

These six forms of anastrophe, with the exception of No. *b*, occur only in the Annals.

§ 117. Tacitus by *anastrophe* often gives *conjunctions* a *post*-position, instead of their usual one *before* the word or at the beginning of the sentence which they connect; viz., namque, quippe, quanquam, quin etiam, immo, quin immo, siquidem, dum, donec, ut, quasi, quum. — The later writers abound in this more, but there are examples of it also in the classical period. Thus we find *ut* as the seventh word in its sentence, and *quum* as the ninth word even in Cicero.

§ 118. *Order of sentences and structure of periods.* Although the relation of the subordinate sentences to the principal sentence is generally correct, yet occasionally his style is rendered heavy by an accumulation of subordinate clauses after the principal sentence: as, insignis fide, et amisso per vulnus oculo, paucis ante annis, duce Tiberio (Ann. 2: 9); legionarios obtrivit, uno tantum centurione turrim, in qua praesidium agebat, defendere auso, factaque saepius eruptione, et caesis qui — suggrediebantur, donec — subveniretur (15: 12). The like also in Ann. 15: 45, 2: 21; H. 2: 11.

The *structure of the historical period* is often injured by the use of the co-ordinate instead of the subordinate arrangement of the clauses, often by a genial freedom of arrangement, and also by arranging his matter after the form used by the old historical writers. He employs very commonly that simplest of arrangements, where a *single* subordinate sentence precedes the principal sentence; as, quod postquam Corbuloni cognitum est, ire praefectum — jubet (Ann. 13: 9). Very common also is that arrangement, so usual with Livy, the *participle*, the *subordinate sentence*, and then the *principal sentence;* as, interea manipuli — missi, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt. Very rarely *two subordinate sentences not connected by a co-ordinate conjunction* precede the principal sentence: as, ubi ventum ad aggerem, dum missilibus certabatur, plus vulnerum in nos et pleraeque caedes oriebantur (Ann. 12: 35); also 1: 35; H. 1: 22. This last arrangement of sentences is not found in the older writers.

Tacitus only occasionally forms a *complicated period*, beginning with an alternation of conjunctive sentences and participles, to which the principal sentence, sometimes with a second succession of subordinate sentences, succeeds, so that one is reminded of Livy in the overburdened structure. The period in the second section of the first book of the Annals is something after this sort. So, also, 1: 6, quod postquam, etc. Here several subordinate sentences, with an intervening parenthesis, precede; then follows the principal sentence, — *monuit Liviam,* — and then six more subordinate sentences. Other complicated periods occur in Ann. 13: 54, illic per otium, etc.; 4: 24, igitur Tacfarinas; 4: 42, nam postulato Votieno; 4: 47, at Sabinus; H. 1: 14, sed Galba.

† § 119. *Disregard of concinnity.* While the classical writers sought to secure the perspicuity and harmony of their style by a uniform construction of co-ordinate or corresponding clauses, Tacitus, in which he had been in some measure preceded by Livy, departed from their rules in many ways, often intentionally, and, as it seems, from disgust at the prescribed form of the schools. In place of this earlier uniformity, we find, especially in his larger works, a purposed variety, where the author exchanges for each other in different parts of a sentence or period:

(1) The *cases:* subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores (Ann. 12: 29); Spartanorum — Atheniensibus (3: 26); quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatione (13: 54); fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae (15: 38); ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus (14: 19); effusae

clementiae, modicus severitate (6: 30); clari genus—summis honoribus (6: 9).

(2) The *numbers*. See § 3.

(3) The *prepositions* with each other, either alone or followed by a case. See § 60.

(4) *Adverbs* and *nouns:* palam laudares, secreta male audiebant (H. 1: 10); prospere aut in metu (instead of *per prospera*), Ann. 15: 45; multis palam et pluribus occultis (16: 5).

(5) *Ablatives* and *participles:* fletu—verberans (Ann. 1: 23); metu—diffisus (2: 1); metu—an ratus (2: 22); avaritia—impatientes (4: 72); pars mora—pars festinans (15: 38); also 15: 36: 56.

(6) *Prepositions* and *participles* or adjectives: ex aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur (H. 1: 14); ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus (Ann. 1: 64); in suam excusationem et—attollentes (H. 2: 3); Ann. 14: 15.

(7) The *person, tense,* and *voice* of verbs: quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur (instead of miserias toleramus, H. 1: 15); asciscere—adjecisse (1: 15); tradiderint—abnuant (Ann. 14: 9); quo ambiguos illiceret, prompti firmarentur (6: 14); nudare corpus et—permittere—differique. This also in Cæsar and Livy.

(8) The *pres. part.* and the *abl.* of the *gerund,* but only in the later books of the Annals: trahens—interpretando; in edita assurgens et rursus inferia populando (15: 38). So also in Curtius, 4: 4, 20: comeantes—adeundo.

(9) The *subj.* and the *periphrastic infin.* of the gerundive: quum alii in Palatium redirent, alii Capitolium peterent, plerique rostra occupanda censerent (H. 1: 39). Virg. Aen. 3: 234.

(10) The *infin. pres. passive* and the *periphrastic infin.:* dari—edi—audiendum (A. 9: 10). Livy 26: 32; 27: 5.

(11) The *gerundive* and *ut* or *neu,* only in the Annals: nomen Pisonis radendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut—concederetur (3: 17); sacrandam ad memoriam neu—delaberentur (3: 63); de reddenda republica utque consules—regimen suscipiant (4: 9); partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat (4: 20). So after *renuntiare* in Livy 36: 37, and after *mittere,* 21: 18.

(12) A *noun* and a following *subordinate sentence* (with quod, quid, ut, ne, or an indirect question), as in Germ. 43; Ann. 2: 63; amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod—dispergebatur (Ann. 4: 18); terrore nominis Romani et quia—nequeunt (4: 24); 4: 38; in-

gentibus donis adulterium et mox, ut omitteret maritum, emercatur (13: 44); firmato vultu Piso adversus metum, Germanicus ne minari crederetur (1: 57): gnarum meliorum et quae fama clementiam sequeretur (4: 31); altitudine animi an compererat modica esse (3: 44): nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret (4: 8); 14: 12; 15: 28. The inverted order is very rare: as, mederetur fessis neu mortem — orabant (Ann. 1: 35); sed quod — quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloria, augebatur (1: 52).

(13) An *adjective* or *participle* and a *final sentence:* H. 3: 3; gnarus, ac ne (3: 46); illiciens Germanos — utque — insisteretur (Ann. 2: 62); 13: 39.

(14) *Conditional sentences* and *final* or *temporal sentences:* si defensio audiretur utque clausae aures etiam confitenti forent (Ann. 11: 28); si — ubi (1: 44); 4: 17.

(15) *Persons* and *things:* laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere (Agr. 20); crimina et innoxios (Ann. 1: 55); insontibus — manifestis flagitiis (12: 26).

§ 120. *Co-ordination instead of Subordination.* His tendency to the co-ordinate or loose arrangement of sentences appears most conspicuously in the frequent use of the real, and of the explicative asyndeton, as in parenthetic expressions (§§ 70 — 75), and particularly in the following cases:

(*a*) The co-ordinate particle *et* instead of *quum* in a temporal sense (§ 62).

(*b*) *Et* irregularly introduced, namely before *participles:* manantes, etc. (Ann. 2: 23); 12: 67; adeo ut Nero aeger valetudine et adulantibus circum, qui, etc. (14: 47); id egregio sub principe et nulla necessitate obstricto senatui statuendum disseruit (14: 48); interritus et parte copiarum apud Suriam relicta (15. 12); 15: 59; 16: 4. The same before in Sallust and Livy.

(*c*) The first sentence has a *causal* meaning while co-ordinate: Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur; ire praecipites et occupare pericula jubet (H. 1: 40): sed parum provisum ut copiae in castra conveherentur; rapi permissere (4: 22).

(*d*) The first sentence is *hypothetical* in sense, though not so in form: sane ego displiceam: sunt alii legati, etc. (H. 4: 58); sane consilium occuluit, telum inter ignaros paravit: num excubias transiret, etc. (Ann. 14: 44); omitteret potius obsidionem *aut* se quoque — castra positurum (15: 15); 13: 21.

(*e*) By *causal apposition:* quippe in acie nihil praedae, inopes agres-

tes et vilia arma; nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum (H. 2: 13); vile damnum, etc. (Ann. 2: 85). And often.

§ 121. The *brevity of expression*, springing from his vivid and energetic conception of things, and without a parallel in all ancient literature, is attained by means of Ellipses, Participial and Co-ordinate constructions, the Asyndeton, the disregard of Concinnity, and the disdain of rhetorical Fulness. — Instances of Ellipsis are found in the frequent omission of small words, the prepositions and conjunctions, the forms of *esse* and of *verba dicendi et movendi* (§§ 20, 21).

No writer so abounds in what is called the *pregnant construction*, by which more is implied than is actually expressed: as, jus legationis (*sc.* violatum) miseratur (Ann. 1: 39); pericula (= societatem periculorum) polliceri (2: 40); reipublicae injurias (*i.e.* veniam injuriarum) ne largiretur (3: 70); exemit etiam Drusum dicendae primo loco sententiae (necessitati), 3: 22; proruunt fossas (= terra proruta explent), 1: 68; plerumque permoveor (*sc.* ad opinionem) num (4: 57); Nero non prius differi potuit (= adduci ut differet), 13: 20; exitium irritare (= iram ad exitium), 13: 1; 14: 3.

Not less a favorite with him is the *zeugma*, by which the meaning of a word is strained to make it do double service: as, cibos et hortamina gestant (Germ. 7); Agr. 13 and 44; quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam (Ann. 1: 58); quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis permisit (2: 20); juxta gratiam aut fastus janitorum perpetiebantur (4: 74); ac primo, etc. (4: 72); manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens (after Virgil), 2: 29; cum voces, cum manus intentarent (3: 36). Thus often, especially in the Annals.

A decided characteristic of Tacitus is his frequent use of the *participial construction*. In order to see this, we have but to compare him with the earlier writers as to the number of such constructions found in the same extent of simple narrative of a like nature. From such a comparison, it appears that, while Cæsar in the two hundred words of the first two sections of the second book of his Gallic War has but five participial constructions, and Sallust in Jug. 6–7 only ten, and Livy in 21: 5 sixteen, Tacitus in Ann. 2: 11–12 has twenty-four.

§ 122. The *metaphor*, by which words are applied *figuratively* to subjects similar in some respect to those in which they have a literal application, is very much used by Tacitus, and greatly enlivens his narrative, though occasionally appearing a little far-fetched. His

metaphors are more commonly contained in verbs, less frequently in adjectives, adverbs, and nouns. Of verbs, the following are the more important:

(*a*) Those referring to *military affairs:* as, pandere aciem; patescit acies; erigere aciem (lead up); spargere bellum; bellum navare; bellum impellitur; proelia serere; equites cornibus affunduntur; terga praebere; praestare, occasioni patefacere; terga hostium promittere; casum pugnae praebere (= copiam pugnandi facere); exscindere hostem; bellum concidit; victoria provenit alicui; victoria corrupta; multa bella — evanuisse; in arma trudi.

(*b*) *Those referring to features of the earth:* as, quidquid silvarum ac montium erigitur; praecipuum montium Libanum erigit (*sc.* terra); ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt — pone tergum insurgebat silva. Boundaries are described by praetendi, obtendi, praetexti.

(*c*) Verbs denoting *motion* and *direction*: as, transvecta aestas; abiit jam et transvectum est tempus; nova ubertate provenit terra; insistere spei. *Vergere* is applied to time, while the classical writers applied it only to space.

(*d*) Verbs of *putting on* and *putting off:* induere hostilia, proditorem et hostem, seditionem, hostiles spiritus, diem (Ann. 6: 20). Still more common is *exuere* in the meaning to "deprive," "lay aside," for example: fidem, tributa, virtutem; exutus campis, avitis bonis; exuto Lepido; exuta aequalitate.

(*e*) Verbs denoting *to burn, inflame:* flagrans oculis; flagrans juvenis; flagrantissimae libidines; flagrantissima gratia; flagrantior in dies amore; flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis. Rarely *flammare.* Instead of the earlier *ardere,* or *exardescere,* we find *ardescere,* for example, with libidinibus, in nuptias incestas, voce, vultu, oculis; questus ardescebant; pugio in mucronem ardescit. *Accendere* instead of incendere, incitare, as also in Sallust and Livy. Acerrimam bello facem praetulit (H. 2: 86) is poetic; the like to which is found also in Cicero, Cat. 1: 6: 13.

(*f*) Verbs meaning *to break, to rend:* abrumpere vitam, vitae blandimenta, voluptates, pacem, spem ac metum, inceptum sermonem. Rumpere imperium, fas gentium, servitium. Also *per*rumpere and *pro*rumpere in an unusual meaning (Ann. 3: 15; 4: 40: H. 2: 73).— *Lacerari* rumore, as also in Cicero.

(*g*) Verbs meaning to *roll, revolve:* volvere (= mente agitare) bellum (after Virgil). Instead of *regere* (Ann. 6: 22); instead of

agitare (3 : 54). — *Volutatis* rationibus (Ann. 1 : 36). *Revolvere* = secum reputare *or* = redire. *Provolvere* = evertere; in the meaning "to debase," in Ann. 14 : 2, and "to thrust forward," in Ann. 3 : 66.

(*h*) Verbs meaning *to draw, engulf, exhaust:* haurire, particularly in the passive, of water, fire, of sinking in the snow and in swamps. *Exhaurire* instead of cupide arripere *or* expectare. Gladio jugulum alicujus haurire.

(*i*) Verbs denoting *to loosen, set free:* exsolvere instead of solvere or liberare, for example: with venas, brachia ferro, catenas, vincla, legis nexus, obsidium, se pudore. In the meaning "to pay," "discharge," Germ. 12, and often. This is post-classical.

Under the metaphors contained in *adjectives* and *nouns* are particularly the following: of *adjectives:* moesta fama (instead of *tristis*); cruentae epistolae, clausae naves, aestate jam adulta, imminuta mens, continuus principi; segne otium, Suriam audentioribus spatiis petebat, cruda ac viridis senectus (after Virgil), molli et clementer edito montis jugo, infamibus locis. Of *nouns:* pignora (without gen. for *conjuges, liberi*); saevitia annonae, modestia hiemis, segnitia maris, moles curarum, tremor terrae (only in late Latin); ubere agri (after Virgil); nova laborum facies, claris natalibus, furtum noctis, annus (for annuus provectus), per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, vulnera derigere (Virgil); *sinus* often instead of: interior pars, latebrae, recessus *or* potestas.

DESCENDANTS OF AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA.

AUGUSTUS (by a former wife).
1st *Generation:* Julia.

LIVIA (by a former husband).
Drusus. Tiberius (Emperor).

2d *Generation.*

THROUGH JULIA:
C. Cæsar, L. Cæsar, Agrippa Postumus, Julia, Agrippina.

THROUGH DRUSUS:
Germanicus, Livilla, Claudius (Emperor).

3d *Generation.*

THROUGH AGRIPPINA AND GERMANICUS.
Nero, Drusus, Caligula (Emperor), Agrippina, Drusilla, Julia.

4th *Generation.*

THROUGH AGRIPPINA 2d: NERO (Emperor).

From Tiberius descended Drusus (2d); and from him Tiberius (2d), Julia, and Germanicus (2d).—From Claudius descended Britannicus.

EXCERPTA TACITIANA.

EXCERPTA ANNALIUM.

LIBER PRIMUS.

1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturae ad tempus sumebantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque tribunorum militum consulare jus diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa domi- 5 natio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; 10 temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Caique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. Inde consilium mihi pauca de 15 Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

2. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla jam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio ne Julianis quidem parti-

bus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine
5 consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio
jure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona,
cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim,
munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo
adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione
10 cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa
mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob cer-
15 tamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido
legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

3. Ceterum Augustus, subsidia dominationi, Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adolescentem
pontificatu et curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam ignobilem
loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis con-
5 sulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum
sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum
privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam
tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa, Caium ac Lucium, in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita
10 puerili praetexta principes juventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat.
Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem
ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Caium remeantem Armenia
et vulnere invalidum, mors fato propera, vel novercae
15 Liviae dolus, abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero
solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis assumitur,
omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem

Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, 20
Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam projecerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii compertum. At hercule Germanicum, Druso ortum, octo apud Rhenum legionibus imposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio 25
jussit, quanquam esset in domo Tiberii filius juvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. Bellum ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum, quam cupidine proferendi imperii 30
aut dignum ob praemium. Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vocabula; juniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui rempublicam vidisset?

4. Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes exuta aequalitate jussa principis aspectare, nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam provecta jam senectus aegro et corpore fati- 5
gabatur aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis incassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere. Pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experien- 10
tia tantae moli parem, Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quanquam premantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice; congestos ju- 15
veni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secretas libidines meditatum.

Accedere matrem muliebri impotentia: serviendum
20 feminae duobusque insuper adolescentibus, qui rem
publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant. χ

5. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo
Augusti; et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe
rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis
consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam
5 vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque
lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo fore ut juvenis
penatibus avi redderetur: quod Maximum uxori
Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. Gnarum id Caesari;
neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quae-
10 sita morte, auditos in funere ejus Marciae gemitus
semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisset. Utcumque
se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum
Tiberius properis matris literis accitur; neque satis
compertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud ur-
15 bem Nolam an exanimem reppererit. Acribus namque
custodiis domum et vias sepserat Livia, laetique interdum
nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisis quae tempus
monebat, simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri
Neronem fama eadem tulit.

11. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat
de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. Solam
divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem: se in
partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse
5 quam arduum, quam subjectum fortunae regendi
cuncta onus. Proinde in civitate tot illustribus viris
subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius
munia reipublicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. Plus
in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat: Tiberioque
10 etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive
assuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba: tunc

vero nitenti, ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur. At patres, quibus unus metus si intelligere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique jussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam. 15 20

15. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt: nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum jus questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. Inter quae tribuni plebei petivere, ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. Sed decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur: curru vehi haud permissum. Mox celebratio annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos jurisdictio evenisset. 5 10

16. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat. Castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Junio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob justitium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cujusque 5

sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et otium
10 cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari. Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. Is imperitos animos, et quaenam post Augustum militiae condicio ambigen-
15 tes, impellere paulatim nocturnis colloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die, et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

17. Postremo promptis jam et aliis seditionis ministris velut concionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum obedirent? quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi
5 novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? Satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes, et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore, tolerent. Ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum
10 tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam
15 et corpus aestimari: hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna. Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub
20 legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus stipendii annus finem afferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. An praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus

suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? Non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici. 25

18. Astrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint. Depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque legioni eum 5 honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt caespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. Properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans 'mea potius caede im- 10 buite manus: leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. Aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut jugulatus paenitentiam accelerabo.'

19. Aggerabatur nihilô minus caespes jamque pectori ejus usque accreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte, non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres ab imperatoribus 5 priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace tentare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? 10 decernerent legatos seque coram mandata darent. Acclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur, peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis: cetera mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent. Profecto juvene modicum otium: sed superbire miles, quod filius 15 legati, orator publicae causae, satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

20. Interea manipuli, ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod
5 municipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones irrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes an tam im-
10 mensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret. Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, intentus operis ac laboris et eo immitior, quia toleraverat.

21. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumjecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad terrorem ceterorum affici verberibus, claudi carcere jubet; nam etiam tum legato a centuri-
5 onibus et optimo quoque manipularium parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cujus manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus imminere clamitantes. Simul probra in legatum
10 cumulant, caelum ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam, misericordiam, metum et iras permoverent. Accurritur ab universis, et carcere effracto solvunt vincula, desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi jam miscent.

22. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. Et Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi allevatus circumstantium humeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet intentos 'vos quidem,' inquit, 'his
5 innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi red-

dit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima jugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abjeceris: ne 10 hostes quidem sepultura invident. Cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari jube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.'

23. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans. Mox disjectis quorum per humeros sustinebatur, praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars 5 ceteram ejusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. Ac ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem, neque illi fuisse unquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. Tribunos 10 tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis, alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebrae tex- 15 ere, uno retento Clemente Julio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni 20 miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interjecisset.

24. Haec audita quanquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere, ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque

praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis man-
5 datis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite
supra solitum firmatae. Additur magna pars praeto-
riani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes
imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius
Sejanus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud
10 Tiberium auctoritate, rector juveni et ceteris periculo-
rum praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti
quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut
assolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed illuvie deformi
et vultu, quanquam maestitiam imitarentur, contuma-
15 ciae propiores.

25. Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus
firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis op-
periri jubent: ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circum-
veniunt. Stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. Illi
5 quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus
truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare;
murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies;
diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque.
Tandem interrupto tumultu literas patris recitat, in
10 quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum
legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset;
ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud
patres de postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut
sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent;
15 cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque
severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

26. Responsum est a concione, mandata Clementi
centurioni quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a
sedecim annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius
diurnum stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo
5 haberentur. Ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et

patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendiis neque allevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari soli- 10 tum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. Nunquamne nisi ad se filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane, quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum rejiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur: an praemia sub dom- 15 inis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

27. Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur, et illa mili- 5 tiae flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare, ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem, circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa jaci- 10 unt. Jamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus, accursu multitudinis quae cum Druso advenerat, protectus est.

28. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit: nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. Id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem sideris assimulans, prospereque cessura quae pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae 5 redderetur. Igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles

10 ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos lamentantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Caesar, et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus, circumiri tentoria jubet: accitur centurio Clemens, et si alii bonis 15 artibus grati in vulgus. Ii vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. 'Quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia mili-20 tibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias.' Com-25 motis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, signa, unum in locum principio seditionis congregata, suas in sedes referunt.

29. Drusus, orto die et vocata concione, quanquam rudis dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum 5 patri ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. Orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Justusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate 10 permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, impune contemni: dum superstitio urgeat, adjiciendos ex duce metus, sublatis

seditionis auctoribus. Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium 15 interfici jubet. Tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum abjecta ostentui.

30. Tum, ut quisque praecipuus turbator, conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradidere. Auxerat militum curas praematura hiems, imbribus continuis adeo- 5 que saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur. Durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum levamentum quam si linquerent cas- 10 tra infausta temerataque, et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. Primum octava, dein quinta decuma legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistolas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione imminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. Et Drusus 15 non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis consederant, in urbem rediit.

31. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant: cui 5 nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitus 10 miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicesimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicesima

legionibus: nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur audito
15 fine Augusti, vernacula multitudo, nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, juvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiamque centuri-
20 onum ulciscerentur. Non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures, alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rempublicam, in suum
25 cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

32. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vecordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt (ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium),
5 prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent: tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum projiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque
10 flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea, mox caede Cai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adolescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus jus obtinuit:
15 vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id militares animos altius conjectantibus praecipuum indicium magni atque implacabilis motus, quod neque disjecti nec paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate
20 et constantia, ut regi crederes.

33. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti excessisse Augustum affertur. Neptem ejus Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, sed anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, 5 quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae. Quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. Nam juveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone 10 vultu, arrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat. 15

34. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba ejus adigit. Dehinc audito legionum tumultu, raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, dejectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. 5 Postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere. Et quidam prensa manu ejus per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret: alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Assistentem concionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere in mani- 10 pulos jubet: sic melius audituros responsum: vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus 15 pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. Silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt.

35. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum, ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli, materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur. Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes: mederetur fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae, neque inopem requiem orabant. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent: faustis in Germanicum ominibus, et si vellet imperium, promptas *res* ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars concionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. Saevum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

61. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres humido paludum et fallacibus campis imponeret,

incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. Prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae jam reliquiae consedisse in- 10 telligebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata. Adjacebant fragmina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mac- 15 taverant. Et cladis ejus superstites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali concionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae 20 scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam illuserit.

62. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, 5 maesti simul et infensi condebant. Primum extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius. Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorum- 10 que tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorem hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum attrectare feralia debuisse.

63. Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi jubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente: mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos per saltus oc- 5 cultaverat. Tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque

subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar produc-
10 tas legiones instruxisset: inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. Mox, reducto ad Amisiam exercitu, legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat; pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum jussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quam-
15 quam notis itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes, et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta erant; circum silvae paulatim acclives, quas tum Arminius im-
20 plevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.

64. Barbari, perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus nisi, lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor. Et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa, locus uligine pro-
5 funda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul. Nox demum inclinantis jam
10 legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus jugis oritur vertere in subjecta, mersaque humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor. Quadragesimum id
15 stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat,

secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens non aliud repperit quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities, quae tenuem aciem 20 pateretur. Deliguntur legiones, quinta dextro lateri, unetvicesima in laevum, primani ducendum ad agmen, vicesimanus adversum secuturos.

65. Nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu, aut truci sonore subjecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent; apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam per- 5 vigiles. Ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse. Coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum 10 deseruere, capto propere campo humentia ultra. Neque tamen Arminius, quamquam libero incursu, statim prorupit: sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi quisque properus et lentae adver- 15 sum imperia aures, irrumpere Germanos jubet, clamitans 'en Varus eodemque iterum fato vinctae legiones!' Simul haec, et cum delectis scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus disjicere obvios, 20 proterere jacentes. Plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Juvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede prae- 25

dam sectantium; enisaeque legiones vesperascente die in aperta et solida. Neque is miseriarum finis: struendum vallum, petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes; non
30 tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes, funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum jam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

66. Forte equus, abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore territus, quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. Tanta inde consternatio irrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur,
5 aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, projectus in limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum
10 erat, clausit viam: simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

67. Tunc contractos in principia, jussosque dicta cum silentio accipere, temporis ac necessitatis monet: unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe
5 propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum; illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. Quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus decus, gloriam. Quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; reticuit
10 de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes, in hostem invaderent.

68. Haud minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine et diversis ducum sententiis agebat: Arminio sinerent

egredi egressosque rursum per humida et impedita circumvenirent suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. Igitur orta die proruunt fossas, injiciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. Postquam haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere. Exin clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos deos. Hosti facile excidium et paucos ac semermos cogitanti, sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto majora offunduntur; cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus trucidatum est, donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim, sanitatem, copias, cuncta in victoria habuere.

69. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama, et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina impositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. Sed femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos *studia* militum quaeri. Nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem tentet, tanquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque

15 Caligulam appellari velit. Potiorem jam apud exercitus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. Accendebat haec onerabatque Sejanus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum jaciens, quae recon-
20 deret auctaque promeret.

70. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter
5 sicca humo aut modice allabente aestu quietum habuit: mox impulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et opplebantur terrae: eadem freto, litori, campis facies, neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a pro-
10 fundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; jumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant; permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo disjecti aut obruti. Non vox et mutui hortatus juva-
15 bant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab imprudenti, consilia a casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. Pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato
20 corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem † Visurgin, quo Caesar classe contenderat. Impositae dein legiones, vagante fama submer-
25 sas; nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

ANNALIUM LIBER SECUNDUS.

12. Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae; convenisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram ausurosque nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem. Habita indici fides et cernebantur ignes; suggressique propius 5 speculatores audiri fremitum equorum immensique et inconditi agminis murmur attulere. Igitur propinquo summae rei discrimine explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret, secum agitabat. Tribunos et centuriones laeta saepius quam com- 10 perta nuntiare, libertorum servilia ingenia, amicis inesse adulationem; si concio vocetur, illic quoque quae pauci incipiant reliquos astrepere. Penitus noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi inter militaris cibos spem aut metum proferrent. 15

13. Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occulta et vigilibus ignara, comite uno, contectus humeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum vias, assistit tabernaculis fruiturque fama sui, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam, comitatem, per seria per jocos eun- 5 dem animum laudibus ferrent, reddendamque gratiam in acie faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriae mactandos. Inter quae unus hostium, Latinae linguae sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna conjuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, 10 sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur. Incendit ea contumelia legionum iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum conjuges; accipere omen, et

15 matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare. Tertia ferme vigilia assultatum est castris sine conjectu teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum sensere.

14. Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se operatum, et sanguine sacri respersa praetexta pulchriorem aliam manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat 5 concionem et quae sapientia provisa aptaque imminenti pugnae disserit. Non campos modo militi Romano ad proelium bonos, sed si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hastas, inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi 10 quam pila et gladios et haerentia corpori tegmina. Denserent ictus, ora mucronibus quaererent: non loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et fucatas colore tabulas; primam utcumque aciem hastatam, 15 ceteris praeusta aut brevia tela. Jam corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia: sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum abire, fugere; pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani juris memores. Si taedio viarum 20 ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem jam Albim quam Rhenum, neque bellum ultra, modo se, patris patruique vestigia prementem, isdem in terris victorem sisterent.

15. Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor, signumque pugnae datum. Nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorum proceres omittebant suos quisque testari, hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne 5 bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint; quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis frac-

tos artus infensis rursum hostibus, adversis dis objiciant, nulla boni spe. Classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remo- 10 rumve subsidium. Meminissent modo avaritiae, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?

16. Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, cui Idisiaviso nomen, deducunt. Is medius inter Visurgim et colles, ut ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt, inaequaliter sinuatur. Pone tergum insurgebat silva, editis in altum ramis et pura humo 5 inter arborum truncos. Campum et prima silvarum barbara acies tenuit: soli Cherusci juga insedere, ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent. Noster exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte, post quos pedites sagittarii; dein quattuor le- 10 giones et cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar; exin totidem aliae legiones et levis armatura cum equite sagittario ceteraeque sociorum cohortes. Intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis in aciem assisteret. 15

17. Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quae per ferociam proruperant, validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinium cum ceteris turmis circumgredi tergaque invadere jubet, ipse in tempore affuturus. Interea pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas et 5 intrare visae imperatorem advertere. Exclamat: irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina. Simul pedestris acies infertur et praemissus eques postremos ac latera impulit. Mirumque dictu, duo hostium agmina diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta, 10 qui campis astiterant, in silvam ruebant. Medii inter

hos Cherusci collibus detrudebantur, inter quos insignis Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat pugnam: incubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni Raetorum Vin-
15 delicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa objecissent. Nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur: quidam agnitum a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana agentibus emissumque tradiderunt. Virtus seu fraus eadem Inguiomero effu-
20 gium dedit: ceteri passim trucidati. Et plerosque tranare Visurgim conantes injecta tela aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripae operuere. Quidam, turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes, admotis sagittariis per ludibrium fige-
25 bantur, alios prorutae arbores afflixere.

18. Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit. Quinta ab hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere, repertis inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos ut non
5 dubio eventu portaverant. Miles in loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem, et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit.

19. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia quam ea species dolore et ira affecit. Qui modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt; plebes primores, juventus senes
5 agmen Romanum repente incursant, turbant. Postremo deligunt locum flumine et silvis clausum, arta intus planitie et humida: silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato aggere extulerant, quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. Hic pedes
10 astitit: equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret.

20. Nihil ex his Caesari incognitum: consilia locos, prompta occulta noverat, astusque hostium in perniciem ipsis vertebat. Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars aequo in silvam aditu incederet, pars objectum aggerem 5 eniteretur; quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis permisit. Quibus plana evenerant, facile irrupere: quis impugnandus agger, ut si murum succederent, gravibus superne ictibus conflictabantur. Sensit dux imparem comminus pugnam remotisque paulum legionibus fun- 10 ditores libratoresque excutere tela et proturbare hostem jubet. Missae e tormentis hastae, quantoque conspicui magis propugnatores, tanto pluribus vulneribus dejecti. Primus Caesar cum praetoriis cohortibus capto vallo dedit impetum in silvas; collato illic gradu certatum. 15 Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.

21. Nec minor Germanis animus, sed genere pugnae et armorum superabantur, cum ingens multitudo artis locis praelongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque assultibus et velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium; contra miles, cui scutum pectori 5 appressum et insidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet, viamque strage hostium aperiret, imprompto jam *Arminio* ob continua pericula, sive illum recens acceptum vulnus tardaverat. Quin et Inguiomerum, tota volitantem acie, fortuna magis quam 10 virtus deserebat. Et Germanicus, quo magis agnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti orabatque insisterent caedibus: nil opus captivis, solam internecionem gentis finem bello fore. Jamque sero diei subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris: ceterae ad noctem cruore 15 hostium satiatae sunt. Equites ambigue certavere.

22. Laudatis pro concione victoribus, Caesar congeriem armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monimenta Marti et Jovi et Augusto sac-
5 ravisse. De se nihil addidit, metu invidiae an ratus conscientiam facti satis esse. Mox bellum in Angrivarios Stertinio mandat, ni deditionem properavissent: atque illi supplices nihil abnuendo veniam omnium accepere.

23. Sed aestate jam adulta legionum aliae itinere terrestri in hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. Ac primo placidum aequor mile navium remis strepere aut
5 velis impelli: mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire; milesque pavidus et casuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intempestive juvat, officia prudentium corrumpebat. Omne
10 dehinc caelum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui humidis Germaniae terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus, et rigore vicini septentrionis horridior, rapuit disjecitque naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas.
15 Quibus paulum aegreque vitatis, postquam mutabat aestus eodemque quo ventus ferebat, non adhaerere ancoris, non exhaurire irrumpentis undas poterant: equi, jumenta, sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitantur, quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu super-
20 urgente.

24. Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus et truculentia caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus, aut ita vasto et profundo, ut credatur novis-

simum ac sine terris mare. Pars navium haustae sunt, 5
plures apud insulas longius sitas ejectae; milesque nullo
illic hominum cultu fame absumptus, nisi quos corpora
equorum eodem elisa toleraverant. Sola Germanici
triremis Chaucorum terram appulit; quem per omnes
illos dies noctesque apud scopulos et prominentis oras, 10
cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici
quo minus eodem mari oppeteret. Tandem, relabente
aestu et secundante vento, claudae naves raro remigio
aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validioribus tractae,
revertere; quas raptim refectas misit ut scrutarentur 15
insulas. Collecti ea cura plerique: multos Angrivarii
nuper in fidem accepti redemptos ab interioribus reddidere;
quidam in Britanniam rapti et remissi a regulis.
Ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant,
vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, 20
ambiguas hominum et beluarúm formas, visa sive ex
metu credita.

59. M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus, Germanicus
Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. Sed
cura provinciae praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis
pretia frugum, multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit:
sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis et pari 5
cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione, quem
eadem factitavisse apud Siciliam, quamvis flagrante
adhuc Poenorum bello, accepimus. Tiberius, cultu
habituque ejus lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit
quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte 10
principis Alexandriam introisset. Nam Augustus inter
alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi
senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, seposuit
Aegyptum, ne fame urgueret Italiam quisquis eam provinciam
claustraque terrae ac maris, quamvis levi prae- 15
sidio, adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset.

60. Sed Germanicus, nondum comperto profectionem eam incusari, Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo. Condidere id Spartani ob sepultum illic rectorem navis Canopum, qua tempestate Menelaus
5 Graeciam repetens diversum ad mare terramque Libyam dejectus *est*. Inde proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent, eosque qui postea pari virtute fuerint in cognomentum ejus adscitos; mox visit veterum
10 Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus literae Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae; jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem
15 Rhamsen Libya, Aethiopia, Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum, quasque terras Syri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et
20 auri, numerus armorum equorumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur.

61. Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est vocalem sonum reddens, disjectasque inter et vix pervias arenas instar
5 montium eductae Pyramides certamine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. Exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod
10 nunc rubrum ad mare patescit.

82. At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit, cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius afferebantur, dolor, ira, et erumpebant questus: ideo nimirum in extremas terras relegatum, ideo Pisoni permissam provinciam; hoc egisse secretos Augustae cum 5
Plancina sermones. Vera prorsus de Druso seniores locutos: displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia populum Romanum aequo jure complecti reddita libertate agitaverint. Hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit, 10
ut ante edictum magistratuum, ante senatus consultum sumpto justitio desererentur fora, clauderentur domus: passim silentia et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quanquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius animis maerebant. Forte negotiatores, 15
vivente adhuc Germanico Syria egressi, laetiora de valetudine ejus attulere. Statim credita, statim vulgata sunt: ut quisque obvius, quamvis leviter audita in alios atque illi in plures cumulata gaudio transferunt: cursant per urbem, moliuntur templorum fores; juvat cre- 20
dulitatem nox et promptior inter tenebras affirmatio. Nec obstitit falsis Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent: et populus, quasi rursum ereptum acrius doluit.

83. Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio validus, reperti decretique: ut nomen ejus Saliari carmine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur; ludos circenses eburna effigies praeiret, neve quis flamen 5
aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Juliae crearetur. Arcus additi Romae et apud ripam Rheni et in monte Syriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rempublicam obisse; sepulchrum Antio-

10 chiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statuarum locorumve in quis coleretur haud facile quis numerum inierit. Cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, asseveravit Tiberius solitum paremque 15 ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni, et satis illustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur. Equester ordo cuneum Germanici appellavit, qui juniorum dicebatur, instituitque, uti turmae Idibus Juliis imaginem ejus sequerentur. Pleraque 20 manent: quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas obliteravit.

ANNALIUM LIBER TERTIUS.

1. Nihil intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. Illic paucos dies componendo animo insumit, violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi. Interim 5 adventu ejus audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos secuti, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum 10 fidissimumque appulsu erat. Atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, maerentium turba et rogitantium

inter se, silentione an voce aliqua egredientem excipe-
rent. Neque satis constabat quid pro tempore foret, 15
cum classis paulatim successit, non alacri, ut assolet,
remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. Postquam
duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi
defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus; neque discer-
neres proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, 20
nisi quod comitatum Agrippinae longo maerore fessum
obvii et recentes in dolore anteibant.

2. Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito
ut magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani suprema
erga memoriam filii sui munera fungerentur. Igitur
tribunorum centurionumque humeris cineres portaban-
tur; praecedebant incompta signa, versi fasces; atque 5
ubi colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, trabeati
equites, pro opibus loci, vestem odores aliaque funerum
sollemnia cremabant. Etiam quorum diversa oppida,
tamen obvii et victimas atque aras dis manibus statuen-
tes, lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur. 10
Drusus Tarracinam progressus est cum Claudio fratre
liberisque Germanici, qui in urbe fuerant. Consules
M. Valerius et M. Aurelius (jam enim magistratum
occeperant) et senatus ac magna pars populi viam con-
plevere, disjecti et ut cuique libitum flentes; aberat 15
quippe adulatio, gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Ger-
manici mortem male dissimulari.

3. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, in-
ferius majestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne
omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi intelli-
gerentur. Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum,
non diurna actorum scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio 5
functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum et Clau-
dium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti

sint; seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit.
10 Facilius crediderim Tiberio et Augusta, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam, ut par maeror et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri viderentur.

4. Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquies; plena urbis itinera, collucentes per campum Martis faces. Illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistra-
5 tus, populus per tribus, concidisse rempublicam, nihil spei reliquum clamitabant, promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes. Nihil tamen Tiberium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti
10 sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent, versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur.

5. Fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent, compararentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset: ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum usque progressum neque ab-
5 scedentem a corpore simul urbem intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Juliorumque imagines; defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a majoribus reperta aut quae posteri invenerint cumulata: at Germanico ne solitos quidem et cuicumque nobili debitos
10 honores contigisse. Sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo modo crematum: sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset, non fratrem, nisi unius diei via, non patruum saltem porta tenus obvium. Ubi illa veterum
15 instituta, propositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina, et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?

6. Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi sermones, monuit edicto multos illustrium Romanorum ob rempublicam obisse, neminem tam flagranti desiderio celebratum; idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus adjiceretur. Non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quae modicis domibus aut civitatibus. Convenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex maerore solacia; sed referendum jam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Julius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus ereptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam. Nil opus vetustioribus exemplis, quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas nobiles familias constanter tulerit. Principes mortales, rempublicam aeternam esse. Proin repeterent sollemnia, et quia ludorum Megalesium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent.

ANNALIUM LIBER QUARTUS.

1. C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus, nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae reipublicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere. Initium et causa penes Aelium Sejanum cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, cujus de potentia supra memoravi: nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit, expediam. Genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima juventa Caium Caesarem divi Augusti nepo-

tem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicio diviti et prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios, sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe
15 isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax: sui obtegens, in alios criminator; juxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, ejusque causa
20 modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiae, quotiens parando regno finguntur.

2. Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus oreretur.
5 Praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, majore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul urbis illecebris. Ut perfecta sunt castra, irrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo, appellando; simul centuriones ac tri-
10 bunos ipse deligere. Neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret, colique per theatra et fora effigies ejus interque
15 principia legionum sineret.

32. Pleraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva forsitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum: sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres populi Romani res composuere. In-
5 gentia illi bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque

leges, plebis et optimatium certamina libero egressu memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae urbis res et princeps proferendi imperi incuriosus erat. Non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quis magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur.

33. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt: delecta ex iis et consociata reipublicae forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest. Igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum eventis docentur. Ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis afferunt. Nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva jussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitu causas conjungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satietate. Tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obtrectator, neque refert cujusquam Punicas Romanasve acies laetius extuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio regente poenam vel infamias subiere, posteri manent; utque familiae ipsae jam extinctae sint, reperies qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi objectari putent. Etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. Sed ad inceptum redeo.

67. At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis,

quanquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem ejus irrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias
5 omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promontorii disjunctam. Solitudinem ejus placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis pauca subsidia; neque appulerit
10 quisquam nisi gnaro custode. Caeli temperies hieme mitis objectu montis, quo saeva ventorum arcentur; aestas in favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret.
15 Graecos ea tenuisse Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. Sed tum Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus et malum otium resolutus. Manebat quippe suspitionum et cre-
20 dendi temeritas, quam Sejanus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat, non jam occultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. Quis additus miles nuntios, introitus, aperta, secreta velut in annales referebat; ultroque struebantur qui monerent perfugere
25 ad Germaniae exercitus, vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti, populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare. Eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent, objiciebantur.

ANNALIUM LIBER SEXTUS.

56. Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus, quaesita interdum comitate, quamvis manifestam defectionem tegebat. Mutatisque saepius locis tandem apud promontorium Miseni consedit in 5 villa, cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus. Illic eum appropinquare supremis tali modo compertum. Erat medicus arte insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praebere. Is velut propria ad negotia digrediens et per 10 speciem officii manum complexus pulsum venarum attigit. Neque fefellit: nam Tiberius, incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens, instaurari epulas jubet discumbitque ultra solitum, quasi honori abeuntis amici tribueret. Charicles tamen labi spiritum nec 15 ultra biduum duraturum Macroni firmavit. Inde cuncta colloquiis inter praesentes, nuntiis apud legatos et exercitus festinabantur. Septimum decimum Kal. Aprilis interclusa anima creditus est mortalitatem explevisse; et multo gratantum concursu ad capienda imperii pri- 20 mordia Caius Caesar egrediebatur, cum repente affertur redire Tiberio vocem ac visus, vocarique qui recreandae defectioni cibum afferrent. Pavor hinc in omnes, et ceteri passim dispergi, se quisque maestum aut nescium fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe novis- 25 sima expectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimi senem injectu multae vestis jubet discedique ab limine. Sic Tiberius finivit, octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno.

57. Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Clau-

quanquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem ejus irrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias
5 omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promontorii disjunctam. Solitudinem ejus placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis pauca subsidia; neque appulerit
10 quisquam nisi gnaro custode. Caeli temperies hieme mitis objectu montis, quo saeva ventorum arcentur; aestas in favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret.
15 Graecos ea tenuisse Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. Sed tum Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus et malum otium resolutus. Manebat quippe suspitionum et cre-
20 dendi temeritas, quam Sejanus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat, non jam occultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. Quis additus miles nuntios, introitus, aperta, secreta velut in annales referebat; ultroque struebantur qui monerent perfugere
25 ad Germaniae exercitus, vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti, populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare. Eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararênt, objiciebantur.

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30 diae, quanquam mater in Liviam et mox Juliam familiam adoptionibus transierit. Casus prima ab infantia ancipites; nam proscriptum patrem exul secutus, ubi domum Augusti privignus introiit, multis aemulis conflictatus est, dum Marcellus et Agrippa, 35 mox Caius Luciusque Caesares viguere; etiam frater ejus Drusus prosperiore civium amore erat. Sed maxime in lubrico egit accepta in matrimonium Julia, impudicitiam uxoris tolerans aut declinans. Dein Rhodo regressus vacuos principis penates duodecim 40 annis, mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et viginti obtinuit. Morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem 45 inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre; intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Sejanum dilexit timuitve: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

ANNALIUM LIBER QUINTUS DECIMUS.

38. Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam utrumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus quae huic urbi per violentiam ignium acciderunt gravior atque atrocior. Initium in ea parte circi ortum, quae 5 Palatino Caelioque montibus contigua est; ubi per

tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et statim validus ac vento citus longitudinem circi corripuit: neque enim domus munimentis septae vel templa muris cincta aut quid aliud morae interjacebat. Impetu pervagatum incen- 10 dium plana primum, deinde in edita assurgens, et rursus inferiora populando, anteiit remedia velocitate mali et obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit. Ad hoc lamenta paventium feminarum, fessa [aetate] aut 15 rudis [pueritiae] aetas, quique sibi quique aliis consulebant, dum trahunt invalidos aut opperiuntur, pars mora, pars festinans, cuncta impediebant: et saepe, dum in tergum respectant, lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur, vel si in proxima evaserant, illis quoque 20 igni correptis, etiam quae longinqua crediderant in eodem casu reperiebant. Postremo, quid vitarent quid peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros; quidam amissis omnibus fortunis, diurni quoque victus, alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis 25 patente effugio interiere. Nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces jaciebant atque esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius exercerent, seu jussu. 30

39. Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem regressus est, quam domui ejus, qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. Sed solacium populo extur- 5 bato ac profugo campum Martis ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefecit, et subitaria aedificia exstruxit quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; sub-

vectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis,
10 pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. Quae quanquam popularia in irritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Trojanum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis cladibus assimulantem.

40. Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus, prorutis per immensum aedificiis, ut continuae violentiae campus et velut vacuum caelum occurreret. Necdum positus metus, et rediit haud
5 levius rursum grassatus ignis, patulis magis urbis locis, eoque strages hominum minor: delubra deum et porticus amoenitati dicatae latius procidere. Plusque infamiae id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigellini Aemilianis proruperat; videbaturque Nero condendae
10 urbis novae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere. Quippe in regiones quattuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quattuor integrae manebant, tres solo tenus dejectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semusta.

41. Domuum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, numerum inire haud promptum fuerit: sed vetustissima religione, quod Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas
5 Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris Jovis vota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani exusta; jam opes tot victoriis quaesitae et Graecarum artium decora, exin monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta: quamvis in
10 tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine, multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequibant. Fuere qui annotarent XIIII Kal. Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverint.

Alii eo usque cura progressi sunt, ut totidem annos mensesque et dies inter utraque incendia numerent. 15

42. Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis exstruxitque domum, in qua haud perinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem et luxu vulgata, quam arva et stagna, et in modum solitudinum hinc silvae inde aperta spatia et prospectus, magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat, etiam quae natura denegavisset, per artem tentare et viribus principis illudere. Namque ab lacu Averno navigabilem fossam usque ad ostia Tiberina depressuros promiserant, squalenti litore aut per montes adversos. Neque enim aliud humidum gignendis aquis occurrit quam Pomptinae paludes: cetera abrupta aut arentia, ac si perrumpi possent, intolerandus labor nec satis causae. Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno juga conisus est, manentque vestigia irritae spei.

43. Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant, non, ut post Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis, cohibitaque aedificiorum altitudine ac patefactis areis, additisque porticibus quae frontem insularum protegerent. Eas porticus Nero sua pecunia exstructurum, purgatasque areas dominis traditurum, pollicitus est. Addidit praemia pro cujusque ordine et rei familiaris copiis, finivitque tempus intra quod effectis domibus aut insulis apiscerentur. Ruderi accipiendo Ostienses paludes destinabat, utique naves, quae frumentum Tiberi subvectavissent, onustae rudere decurrerent; aedificiaque ipsa, certa sui parte, sine trabibus saxo Gabino Albanove solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius est; jam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta, 15

quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes, et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec communione parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. Ea ex utilitate ac-
20 cepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. Erant tamen qui crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur: at nunc patulam latitudinem et nulla umbra defensam
25 graviore aestu ardescere.

44. Et haec quidem humanis consiliis providebantur. Mox petita a dis piacula aditique Sibyllae libri, ex quibus supplicatum Volcano et Cereri Proserpinaeque, ac propitiata Juno per matronas, primum in Capitolio,
5 deinde apud proximum mare, unde hausta aqua templum et simulacrum deae perspersum est; et sellisternia ac pervigilia celebravere feminae quibus mariti erant. Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin jussum in-
10 cendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat; repres-
15 saque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo
20 ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi

defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat et circense 25 ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. Unde, quanquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur. 30

EXCERPTA HISTORIARUM.

LIBER PRIMUS.

2. Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum. Quattuor principes ferro interempti: trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta: prosperae in oriente, 5 adversae in occidente res: turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes, perdomita Britannia et statim omissa: coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio. Jam vero Italia novis 10 cladibus vel post longam saeculorum seriem repetitis afflicta. Haustae aut obrutae [urbes] fecundissimae Campaniae orae, urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso: pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria: plenum 15 exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli. Atrocius in urbe saevitum: nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium. Nec minus praemia delatorum invisa quam scelera, cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes 20 alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.

3. Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae maritos in exilia conjuges; propinqui audentes, constantes generi, contumax etiam

adversus tormenta servorum fides; supremae clarorum 5
virorum necessitates, ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata, et
laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. Praeter
multiplices rerum humanarum casus, caelo terraque
prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia,
laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta; nec enim unquam 10
atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve justis
indiciis approbatum est, non esse curae deis securitatem
nostram, esse ultionem.

4. Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur, qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum,
quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe
validum, quid aegrum fuerit, ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio 5
etiam causaeque noscantur. Finis Neronis ut laetus
primo gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus
animorum non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum
aut urbanum militem, sed omnes legiones ducesque
conciverat, evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi 10
quam Romae fieri. Sed patres laeti, usurpata statim
libertate licentius ut erga principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum; pars
populi integra et magnis domibus annexa, clientes
libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti: plebs 15
sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui adesis bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur, maesti et rumorum avidi.

5. Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento imbutus
et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu
quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum, neque magnis
meritis ac praemiis eundem in pace quem in bello 5
locum, praeventamque gratiam intelligit apud principem

a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas res scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis, agitatur. Et Nymphidius quidem in ipso conatu op-
10 pressus, sed, quamvis capite defectionis ablato, manebat plerisque militum conscientia, nec deerant sermones senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas ejus angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam, atque ita quattuor-
15 decim annis a Nerone assuefactos ut haud minus vitia principum amarent quam olim virtutes verebantur. Accessit Galbae vox pro republica honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem, non emi; nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.

6. Invalidum senem Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum contemptu inertiae destruebant. Tardum Galbae iter et cruentum, interfectis Cingonio
5 Varrone consule designato et Petronio Turpiliano consulari: ille ut Nymphidii socius, hic ut dux Neronis, inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant. Introitus in urbem, trucidatis tot milibus inermium militum, infaustus omine atque ipsis etiam qui occi-
10 derant formidolosus. Inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea quam e classe Nero conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito; multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos idem Nero electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum et bellum, quod in
15 Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat: ingens novis rebus materia, ut non in unum aliquem prono favore, ita audenti parata.

10. Oriens adhuc immotus. Syriam et quattuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque juxta famosus. Insignes amicitias juvenis

ambitiose coluerat; mox attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae 5 sepositus tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe. Luxuria industria, comitate arrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus: nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes; palam laudares, secreta male audiebant: sed apud subjectos, 10 apud proximos, apud collegas variis illecebris potens, et cui expeditius fuerit tradere imperium quam obtinere. Bellum Judaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus administrabat. Nec Vespasiano adversus Galbam votum aut animus: 15 quippe Titum filium ad venerationem cultumque ejus miserat, ut suo loco memorabimus. Occulta fati et ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano liberisque ejus imperium post fortunam credidimus.

11. Aegyptum copiasque, quibus coerceretur, jam inde a divo Augusto equites Romani obtinent loco regum: ita visum expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem, annonae fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratuum, 5 domui retinere. Regebat tum Tiberius Alexander, ejusdem nationis. Africa ac legiones in ea, interfecto Clodio Macro, contenta qualicumque principe post experimentum domini minoris. Duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thraecia et quae aliae procuratoribus 10 cohibentur, ut cuique exercitui vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. Inermes provinciae, atque ipsa in primis Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessurae erant. Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Servius Galba 15 iterum Titus Vinius consules inchoavere annum sibi ultimum, reipublicae prope supremum.

29. Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat alieni jam imperii deos, cum affertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui raperetur: simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius
5 fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. Igitur consultantibus placuit pertentari animum cohortis quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cujus integra auctoritas majoribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro
10 gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum allocutus est: 'sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum, quo domus nostrae aut rei publicae fato, in vestra manu positum est; non quia meo nomine
15 tristiorem casum paveam, ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere: patris et senatus et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est, aut, quod aeque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Sola-
20 cium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem, et res sine discordia translatas: provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galbam quidem bello locus esset.'

30. 'Nihil arrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiae; neque enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est: vitia, quibus solis gloriatur, evertere imperium, etiam cum amicum imperatoris ageret. Habitune
5 et incessu an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium? Falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis imponit: perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. Stupra nunc et comissationes et feminarum coetus volvit animo: haec principatus praemia putat, quorum libido ac voluptas
10 penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes; nemo

enim unquam imperium flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me Galba consentientibus vobis, Caesarem dixit. Si respublica et senatus et populus vacua nomina sunt, vestra, commilitones, interest ne imperatorem pessimi faciant. Legio- 15 num seditio adversus duces suos audita est aliquando: vestra fides famaque illaesa ad hunc diem mansit: et Nero quoque vos destituit, non vos Neronem. Minus triginta transfugae et desertores, quos centurionem aut tribunum sibi eligentes nemo ferret, imperium assig- 20 nabunt? Admittitis exemplum? et quiescendo commune crimen facitis? Trascendet haec licentia in provincias, et ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertinebunt. Nec est plus quod pro caede principis quam quod innocentibus datur, sed perinde a nobis 25 donativum ob fidem quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis.'

40. Agebatur huc illuc Galba, vario turbae fluctuantis impulsu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu: neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti vultus et conversae ad omnia aures, non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae 5 silentium est. Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur: ire praecipites et occupare pericula jubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri, ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disjecta plebe, 10 proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrumpunt: nec illos Capitolii aspectus et imminentium templorum religio, et priores et futuri principes terruere quo minus facerent scelus, cujus ultor est quisquis successit. 15

49. Galbae corpus, diu neglectum et licentia tene-

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5 et incessu an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium? Falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis imponit: perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. Stupra nunc et comissationes et feminarum coetus volvit animo: haec principatus praemia putat, quorum libido ac voluptas
10 penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes; nemo

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leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viae praevolavit, longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum
clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit, ut haud dubium
magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur.

HISTORIARUM LIBER SECUNDUS.

1. Struebat jam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum
initia causasque imperio, quod varia sorte laetum reipublicae aut atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum vel
exitio fuit. Titus Vespasianus e Judaea incolumi
adhuc Galba missus a patre, causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus 5
juventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. Materia sermonibus
senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis,
donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. Augebat 10
famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecunque fortunae
capax, decor oris cum quadam majestate, prosperae
Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa, et inclinatis ad credendum animis, loco ominum etiam fortuita. Ubi
Corinthi [Achaiae urbe] certos nuntios accepit de in- 15

teritu Galbae, et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque affirmarent, anxius animo, paucis amicorum adhibitis, cuncta utrimque perlustrat: si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti, ac
20 se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, sed incertam adhuc victoriam et concedente in partes patre filium excusatum. Sin Vespasianus rempublicam susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus.

2. His ac talibus inter spem metumque jactatum spes vicit. Fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice juvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum
5 ex eo impedimentum: laetam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior. Igitur oram Achaiae ac Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit ade-
10 undi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris, inclitum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam deae (neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis disserere.

3. Conditorem templi regem Aërian vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum, deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc appulsam; sed scientiam artemque
5 haruspicum accitam, et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum, ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades
10 sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris.

Sanguinem arae offundere vetitum: praecibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quanquam in aperto madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambi- 15 tum metae modo exsurgens, sed ratio in obscuro.

4. Titus, spectata opulentia donisque regum quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati affingit, de navigatione primum consulit. Postquam pandi viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sos- 5 tratus (sacerdoti id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis annuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus, suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus, ingens 10 rerum fiducia accessit.

Profligaverat bellum Judaicum Vespasianus, oppugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, ut supra memoravimus, ipsi 5 Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello: quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace, sed aemulatio et proximi exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexperti belli amor: auxilia 10 utrique cohortium alarumque et classes regesque ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

5. Vespasianus acer militiae anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario 5

29. Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat alieni jam imperii deos, cum affertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui raperetur: simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius 5 fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. Igitur consultantibus placuit pertentari animum cohortis quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cujus integra auctoritas majoribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro 10 gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum allocutus est: 'sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum, quo domus nostrae aut rei publicae fato, in vestra manu positum est; non quia meo nomine 15 tristiorem casum paveam, ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere: patris et senatus et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est, aut, quod aeque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Sola- 20 cium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem, et res sine discordia translatas: provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galbam quidem bello locus esset.'

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leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viae praevolavit, longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum
clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit, ut haud dubium
magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur.

HISTORIARUM LIBER SECUNDUS.

1. Struebat jam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum
initia causasque imperio, quod varia sorte laetum reipublicae aut atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum vel
exitio fuit. Titus Vespasianus e Judaea incolumi
adhuc Galba missus a patre, causam profectionis offi- 5
cium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus
juventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. Materia sermonibus
senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis,
donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. Augebat 10
famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecunque fortunae
capax, decor oris cum quadam majestate, prosperae
Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa, et inclinatis ad credendum animis, loco ominum etiam fortuita. Ubi
Corinthi [Achaiae urbe] certos nuntios accepit de in- 15

teritu Galbae, et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque affirmarent, anxius animo, paucis amicorum adhibitis, cuncta utrimque perlustrat: si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti, ac
20 se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, sed incertam adhuc victoriam et concedente in partes patre filium excusatum. Sin Vespasianus rempublicam susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus.

2. His ac talibus inter spem metumque jactatum spes vicit. Fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice juvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum
5 ex eo impedimentum: laetam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior. Igitur oram Achaiae ac Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit ade-
10 undi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris, inclitum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam deae (neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis disserere.

3. Conditorem templi regem Aërian vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum, deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc appulsam; sed scientiam artemque
5 haruspicum accitam, et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum, ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades
10 sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris.

Sanguinem arae offundere vetitum: praecibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quanquam in aperto madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambi- 15 tum metae modo exsurgens, sed ratio in obscuro.

4. Titus, spectata opulentia donisque regum quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati affingit, de navigatione primum consulit. Postquam pandi viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sos- 5 tratus (sacerdoti id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis annuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus, suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus, ingens 10 rerum fiducia accessit.

Profligaverat bellum Judaicum Vespasianus, oppugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, ut supra memoravimus, ipsi 5 Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello: quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace, sed aemulatio et proximi exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexperti belli amor: auxilia 10 utrique cohortium alarumque et classes regesque ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

5. Vespasianus acer militiae anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario 5

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magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extollebant; aptior sermone, dispositu provisuque civilium rerum peritus: egregium principatus temperamentum, si demptis utriusque vitiis solae vir-
10 tutes miscerentur. Ceterum hic Syriae, ille Judaeae praepositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consuluere, primum per amicos, dein praecipua concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi
15 utilitate aboleverat, natura atque arte compositus alliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. Tribuni centurionesque et vulgus militum industria licentia, per virtutes per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, adsciscebantur.

6. Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, praecipitibus, ut assolet, nuntiis et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus oriens tunc primum parabat. Namque olim
5 validissima inter se civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus Occidentis coepta; et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant; auditique saepius in Syria Judaeaque Caesares quam inspecti. Nulla
10 seditio legionum, tantum adversus Parthos minae, vario eventu; et proximo civili bello turbatis aliis inconcussa ibi pax, dein fides erga Galbam. Mox, ut Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res Romanas raptum ire vulgatum est, ne penes ceteros imperii praemia, penes
15 ipsos tantum servitii necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires suas circumspicere. Septem legiones statim et cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Judaeaque; inde continua Aegyptus duaeque legiones, hinc Cappadocia Pontusque et quidquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur. Asia
20 et ceterae provinciae nec virorum inopes et pecunia

opulentae: quantum insularum mari cingitur, [et] parando interim bello secundum tutumque ipsum mare.

7. Non fallebat duces impetus militum, sed bellantibus aliis placuit expectari: bello civili victores victosque nunquam solida fide coalescere; nec referre, Vitellium an Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret. Rebus secundis etiam egregios duces insolescere: discordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriem; et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria periturum. Igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis: optimus quisque amore reipublicae, multos dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res; ita boni malique causis diversis, studio pari, bellum omnes cupiebant.

31. Sane ante utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam meruere, minus Vitellii ignavae voluptates quam Othonis flagrantissimae libidines timebantur; addiderat huic terrorem atque odium caedes Galbae, contra illi initium belli nemo imputabat. Vitellius ventre et gula sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu, saevitia, audacia, reipublicae exitiosior ducebatur.

Conjunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis nulla ultra penes Vitellianos mora quin totis viribus certarent: Otho consultavit, trahi bellum an fortunam experiri placeret.

32. Tunc Suetonius Paulinus dignum fama sua ratus, qua nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur, de toto genere belli censere, festinationem hostibus, moram ipsis utilem disseruit: exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse, nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliae tumeant, et deserere Rheni ripam, irrupturis

tam infestis nationibus, non conducat; Britannicum
militem hoste et mari distineri; Hispanias armis non
ita redundare; provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis
10 et adverso proelio contremuisse; clausam Alpibus et
nullo maris subsidio transpadanam Italiam atque ipso
transitu exercitus vastam; non frumentum usquam
exercitui, nec exercitum sine copiis retineri posse: jam
Germanos, quod genus militum apud hostes atrocissi-
15 mum sit, tracto in aestatem bello, fluxis corporibus,
mutationem soli caelique haud toleraturos. Multa bella
impetu valida per taedia et moras evanuisse. Contra
ipsis omnia opulenta et fida, Pannoniam Moesiam
Delmatiam, Orientem cum integris exercitibus, Italiam
20 et caput rerum urbem, senatumque et populum nun-
quam obscura nomina, etiam si aliquando obumbrentur;
publicas privatasque opes et immensam pecuniam, inter
civiles discordias ferro validiorem; corpora militum
aut Italiae sueta aut aestibus; objacere flumen Padum,
25 tutas viris murisque urbes, e quibus nullam hosti ces-
suram Placentiae defensione exploratum; proinde
duceret bellum: paucis diebus quartam decumam
legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Moesicis copiis ad-
fore: tum rursus deliberaturum et, si proelium placuis-
30 set, auctis viribus certaturos.

37. Invenio apud quosdam auctores, pavore belli
seu fastidio utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac de-
decus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse
exercitus num posito certamine vel ipsi in medium
5 consultarent, vel senatui permitterent legere imperato-
rem; atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras
suasisse, praecipua spe Paulini, quod vetustissimus
consularium et militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britan-
nicis expeditionibus meruisset. Ego ut concesserim

apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia, bonum 10
et innocentem principem pro pessimis ac flagitiosissimis expetitum, ita neque Paulinum, qua prudentia fuit, sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantam vulgi moderationem reor, ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent; neque aut exercitus 15
linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere, aut legatos ac duces, magna ex parte luxus, egestatis, scelerum sibi conscios, nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis principem passuros.

38. Vetus ac jam pridem insita mortalibus potentiae cupido cum imperii magnitudine adolevit erupitque; nam rebus modicis aequalitas facile habebatur. Sed ubi subacto orbe et aemulis urbibus regibusve excisis securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit, prima inter 5
patres plebemque certamina exarsere: modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac foro tentamenta civilium bellorum; mox e plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus L. Sulla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. 10
Pompeius occultior, non melior: et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quaesitum. Non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis civium legiones, nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint: eadem ilos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eaedem 15
scelerum causae in discordiam egere. Quod singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia principum factum est. Sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem revertar. 20

39. Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum; Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum

nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae culpae
5 praetendebantur; tribuni centurionesque ambigui, quod spretis melioribus deterrimi valebant; miles alacer, qui tamen jussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo imperite, ut quanquam verno tempore anni et tot cir-
10 cum amnibus penuria aquae fatigarentur. Ibi de proelio dubitatum, Othone per literas flagitante ut maturarent, militibus ut imperator pugnae adesset poscentibus: plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant. Nec perinde dijudicari potest quid optimum factu
15 fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse quod factum est.

40. Non ut ad pugnam sed ad debellandum profecti confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum, sedecim inde milium spatio distantes, petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem
5 objicere hosti, non omissuro quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus aut incompositos in agmine aut dispersos et vallum molientes aggrederetur, Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad jus imperii transibant. Aderat sane citus equo Numida
10 cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho increpita ducum segnitia rem in discrimen mitti jubebat, aeger mora et spei impatiens.

41. Eodem die ad Caecinam operi pontis intentum duo praetoriarum cohortium tribuni, colloquium ejus postulantes, venerant: audire condiciones ac reddere parabat, cum praecipites exploratores adesse hostem
5 nuntiavere. Interruptus tribunorum sermo, eoque incertum fuit, insidias an proditionem vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint. Caecina dimissis tribunis revectus in castra, datum jussu Fabii Valentis pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit. Dum legiones de
10 ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et mirum

dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum impingerentur, Italicae legionis virtute deterriti sunt: ea strictis mucronibus redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coegit. Disposita Vitellianarum legionum acies sine trepidatione: etenim quanquam vicino hoste 15 aspectus armorum densis arbustis prohibebatur. Apud Othonianos pavidi duces, miles ducibus infensus, mixta vehicula et lixae, et praeruptis utrimque fossis via quieto quoque agmini angusta. Circumsistere alii signa sua, quaerere alii; incertus undique clamor ac- 20 currentium, conclamantium: ut cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant aut relabebantur.

42. Attonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit, repertis qui descivisse a Vitellio exercitum ementirentur. Is rumor ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu forte surrexerit, parum compertum. Omisso pugnae ardore 5 Othoniani ultro salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti, plerisque suorum ignaris quae causa salutandi, metum proditionis fecere. Tum incubuit hostium acies, integris ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani, quanquam dispersi, pauciores, fessi, proelium 10 tamen acriter sumpsere. Et per locos arboribus ac vineis impeditos non una pugnae facies: comminus eminus, catervis et cuneis concurrebant: in aggere viae collato gradu corporibus et umbonibus niti, omisso pilorum jactu gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque per- 15 rumpere: noscentes inter se, ceteris conspicui, in eventum totius belli certabant.

43. Forte inter Padum viamque patenti campo duae legiones congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unaetvicesima, cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte

Othonis prima Adjutrix, non ante in aciem deducta,
5 sed ferox et novi decoris avida. Primani stratis unaetvicesimanorum principiis aquilam abstulere; quo dolore accensa legio et impulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte alia propulsa quintanorum
10 impetu tertia decuma legio; circumventi plurium accursu quartadecumani. Et ducibus Othonis jam pridem profugis Caecina ac Valens subsidiis suos firmabant. Accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus transvectam
15 oppositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant: ita victores latus hostium invecti.

44. Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani, Bedriacum petentes: immensum id spatium, obstructae strage corporum viae, quo plus caedis fuit; neque enim civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius
5 Paulinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra vitavere. Vedium Aquilam tertiae decumae legionis legatum irae militum inconsultus pavor obtulit. Multo adhuc die vallum ingressus clamore seditiosorum et fugacium circumstrepitur; non probris, non manibus
10 abstinent; desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo proprio crimine ejus, sed more vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox juvit, dispositis jam excubiis conpressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus consilio, precibus, auctoritate flex-
15 erat, ne super cladem adversae pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent: sive finis bello venisset seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum. Ceteris fractus animus: praetorianus miles non virtute se sed proditione victum fremebat. Ne Vitel-
20 lianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite,

rapta legionis aquila; superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit, venire Moesicas legiones, magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse: hos certe nondum victos et, si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros. His cogitationibus truces aut pavidi extrema 25 desperatione ad iram saepius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.

45. At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die oppugnationem castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur: sed expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die, haud 5 ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate, et qui ferociores fuerant ad paenitentiam inclinantibus, missa legatio; nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum quo minus pacem concederent. Legati paulisper retenti: ea res haesitationem attulit ignaris adhuc an impetrassent. Mox 10 remissa legatione patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque in lacrimas effusi, sortem civilium armorum misera laetitia detestantes; isdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum vulnera fovebant: spes et praemia in ambiguo, certa funera et luctus, nec quisquam adeo mali 15 expers, ut non aliquam mortem maereret. Requisitum Orfidii legati corpus honore solito crematur; paucos necessarii ipsorum sepelivere, ceterum vulgus super humum relictum.

66. Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus: sparsae per Italiam et victoribus permixtae hostilia loquebantur, praecipua quartadecumanorum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant; quippe Bedriacensi acie vexillariis tantum pulsis, vires legionis 5 non adfuisse. Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit, atque interim Batavorum

cohortes una tendere ob veterem adversus quartadecumanos discordiam. Nec diu in tantis armatorum odiis
10 quies fuit: Augustae Taurinorum, dum opificem quemdam Batavus ut fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commilitones aggregati a conviciis ad caedem transiere; et proelium atrox exarsisset, ni duae praetoriae cohortes causam quartadecu-
15 manorum secutae his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent: quos Vitellius agmini suo jungi ut fidos, legionem Grais Alpibus traductam eo flexu itineris ire jubet, quo Viennam vitarent; namque et Viennenses timebantur. Nocte qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus
20 pars Taurinae coloniae ambusta, quod damnum, ut pleraque belli mala, majoribus aliarum urbium cladibus obliteratum. Quartadecumani postquam Alpibus degressi sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: consensu meliorum compressi et legio in Britan-
25 niam transvecta.

67. Proximus Vitellio e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat. Separati primum deinde addito honestae missionis lenimento, arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum resumpta
5 militia robur Flavianarum partium fuere. Prima classicorum legio in Hispaniam missa, ut pace et otio mitesceret, undecuma ac septima suis hibernis redditae, tertiadecumani struere amphitheatra jussi; nam Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum
10 edere parabant, nunquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.

70. Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit, et spectato munere Caecinae insistere Bedriacensibus campis ac vestigia recentis victoriae lustrare oculis concupivit, foedum atque atrox spectaculum: intra quadragesimum

pugnae diem lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres viro- 5
rum equorumque formae, infecta tabo humus, protritis
arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas. Nec minus inhu-
mana pars viae, quam Cremonenses lauru rosaque con-
straverant, extructis altaribus caesisque victimis regium
in morem; quae laeta in praesens mox perniciem ipsis 10
fecere. Aderat Valens et Caecina, monstrabantque
pugnae locos: hinc irrupisse legionum agmen, hinc
equites coortos, inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus:
jam tribuni praefectique, sua quisque facta extollentes,
falsa, vera, aut majora vero miscebant. Vulgus quoque 15
militum clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia certa-
minum recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corpo-
rum intueri, mirari; et erant quos varia sors rerum
lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret: at non Vitellius
flexit oculos, nec tot milia insepultorum civium exhor- 20
ruit: laetus ultro et tam propinquae sortis ignarus
instaurabat sacrum dis loci.

73. Vix credibile memoratu est quantum superbiae
socordiaeque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores
e Syria Judaeaque adactum in verba ejus Orientem nun-
tiavere. Nam, etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus,
erat tamen in ore famaque Vespasianus ac plerumque 5
ad nomen ejus Vitellius excitabatur: tum ipse exerci-
tusque, ut nullo aemulo, saevitia, libidine, raptu in
externos mores proruperant.

74. At Vespasianus bellum armaque et procul vel
juxta sitas vires circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo
paratus, ut praeuntem sacramentum et fausta Vitellio
omnia precantem per silentium audierint; Muciani
animus nec Vespasiano alienus et in Titum pronior; 5
praefectus Aegypti *Ti.* Alexander consilia sociaverat;
tertiam legionem, quod e Syria in Moesiam transisset,

suam numerabat; ceterae Illyrici legiones secuturae sperabantur; namque omnis exercitus flammaverat arro-
10 gantia venientium a Vitellio militum, quod truces corpore, horridi sermone ceteros ut impares irridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; et Vespasianus modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputabat: quis ille dies foret, quo sexaginta aetatis annos et duos
15 filios juvenes bello permitteret? Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, esse regressum, et, prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia.

75. Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur, notum viro militari: suas legiones civili bello inexpertas, Vitellii victrices, et apud victos plus querimoniarum quam virium: fluxam per discordias militum
5 fidem et periculum ex singulis; quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si unus alterve praesenti facinore paratum ex diverso praemium petat? Sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum; sic percussorem ejus Volaginium e gregario ad summa militiae provectum: facilius
10 universos impelli quam singulos vitari.

76. His pavoribus nutantem et alii legati amicique firmabant, et Mucianus, post multos secretosque sermones, jam et coram ita locutus: 'omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, aestimare debent an quod
5 inchoaturi reipublicae utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promptum effectu aut certe non arduum sit; simul ipse qui suadet considerandus est, adjiciatne consilio periculum suum, et, si fortuna coeptis affuerit, cui summum decus acquiratur. Ego te, Vespasiane, ad imperium voco tam
10 salutare reipublicae quam tibi magnificum: juxta deos in tua manu positum est. Nec speciem adulantis expaveris: a contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit post

Vitellium eligi. Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Cai quidem aut Claudii vel Neronis fundatam 15 longo imperio domum exsurgimus; cessisti etiam Galbae imaginibus: torpere ultra et polluendam perdendamque rempublicam relinquere sopor et ignavia videretur, etiam si tibi quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. Abiit jam et transvectum est tempus, quo posses videri 20 concupisse: confugiendum est ad imperium. An excidit trucidatus Corbulo? splendidiore origine quam nos sumus, fateor, sed et Nero nobilitate natalium Vitellium anteibat. Satis clarus est apud timentem quisquis timetur. Et posse ab exercitu principem fieri 25 sibi ipse Vitellius documento, nullis stipendiis, nulla militari fama, Galbae odio provectus. Ne Othonem quidem ducis arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum, jam desiderabilem et magnum principem fecit, cum interim spargit legiones, 30 exarmat cohortes, nova quotidie bello semina ministrat. Si quid ardoris ac ferociae miles habuit, popinis et commissationibus et principis imitatione deteritur: tibi e Judaea et Syria et Aegypto novem legiones integrae, nulla acie exhaustae, non discordia corruptae, sed fir- 35 matus usu miles et belli domitor externi; classium, alarum, cohortium robora, et fidissimi reges, et tua ante omnia experientia.'

77. 'Nobis nihil ultra arrogabo, quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur: ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris, quia aemulum non experiris; me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. Tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo juvenes, capax jam imperii alter, et primis 5 militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. Absurdum fuerit non cedere imperio ei, cujus filium

adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem. Ceterum inter nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo 10 erit; nam si vincimus, honorem quem dederis habebo: discrimen ac pericula ex aequo partiemur; immo, ut melius est, tu hos exercitus rege, mihi bellum et proeliorum incerta trade. Acriore hodie disciplina victi quam victores agunt: hos ira, odium, ultionis cupiditas 15 ad virtutem accendit: illi per fastidium et cuntumacia hebescunt. Aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum; nec mihi major in tua vigilantia, parsimonia, sapientia, fiducia est, quam in Vitellii torpore, inscitia, saevitia. Sed 20 meliorem in bello causam quam in pace habemus; nam qui deliberant, desciverunt.'

80. Dum quaeritur tempus, locus, quodque in re tali difficillimum est, prima vox, dum animo spes timor, ratio casus obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito assistentes ordine ut legatum 5 salutaturi, imperatorem salutavere: tum ceteri accurrere, Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare. Mens a metu ad fortunam transierat: in ipso nihil tumidum, arrogans aut in rebus novis novum fuit. Ut primum tantae altitudinis offu-10 sam oculis caliginem disjecit, militariter locutus laeta omnia et affluentia excepit; namque id ipsum opperiens Mucianus alacrem militem in verba Vespasiani adegit. Tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos 15 alloquitur, satis decorus etiam Graeca facundia, omniumque quae diceret atque ageret arte quadam ostentator. Nihil aeque provinciam exercitumque accendit quam quod asseverabat Mucianus, statuisse Vitellium ut Germanicas legiones in Syriam ad militiam opulen-

tam quietamque transferret, contra Syriacis legionibus 20
Germanica hiberna caelo ac laboribus dura mutarentur;
quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant,
plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus
mixti, et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria
castra in modum penatium diligebantur. 25

82. Prima belli cura agere dilectus, revocare veteranos;
destinantur validae civitates exercendis armorum
officinis; apud Antiochenses aurum argentumque signatur,
eaque cuncta per idoneos ministros suis quaeque
locis festinabantur. Ipse Vespasianus adire, hortari, 5
bonos laude, segnes exemplo incitare saepius quam
coercere, vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes dissimulans.
Multos praefecturis et procurationibus, plerosque
senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et
mox summa adeptos; quibusdam fortuna pro virtutibus 10
fuit. Donativum militi neque Mucianus prima concione
nisi modice ostenderat, ne Vespasianus quidem plus
civili bello obtulit quam alii in pace, egregie firmus adversus
militarem largitionem eoque exercitu meliore.
Missi ad Parthum Armeniumque legati, provisumque 15
ne, versis ad civile bellum legionibus, terga nudarentur.
Titum instare Judaeae, Vespasianum obtinere
clausta Aegypti placuit: sufficere videbantur adversus
Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani
nomen ac nihil arduum fatis. Ad omnes exercitus 20
legatosque scriptae epistolae, praeceptumque ut praetorianos
Vitellio infensos reciperandae militiae praemio
invitarent.

83. Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii
quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari
videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam
ipso spatio sinebat, gnarus modicas vires sibi et majora

5 credi de absentibus; sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum milia ingenti agmine sequebantur. Classem e Ponto Byzantium adigi jusserat, ambiguus consilii, num omissa Moesia, Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italiam mare clauderet, tuta 10 pone tergum Achaia Asiaque, quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni praesidiis firmarentur; atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore quam partem Italiae protegeret, si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litorà infestis classibus peterentur.

84. Igitur navium; militum, armorum paratu strepere provinciae, sed nihil aeque fatigabat quam pecuniarum conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus, non jus aut verum in cognitioni- 5 bus sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat. Passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque in praedam correpti: quae gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata, etiam in pace mansere, ipso Vespasiano inter initia imperii ad obtinendas iniquitates haud 10 perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunae et pravis magistris didicit ausus que est. Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum juvit, largus privatim, quod avidius de republica sumeret. Ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti, rarissimus quisque ean- 15 dem in reciperando licentiam habuerunt.

86. At in Pannonia tertia decuma legio ac septima Galbiana, dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes, haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi praecipua Primi Antonii. Is legibus nocens et tempore 5 Neronis falsi damnatus, inter alia belli mala, senatorium ordinem reciperaverat. Praepositus a Galba septimae legioni scriptitasse Othoni credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens; a quo neglectus in nullo Othoniani belli

usu fuit. Labantibus Vitellii rebus Vespasianum secutus grande momentum addidit, strenuus manu, sermone 10
promptus, serendae in alios invidiae artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor, largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Juncti inde Moesici ac Pannonici exercitus Delmaticum militem traxere, quanquam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Tampius 15
Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Delmatiam tenebant, divites senes; sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens aetate, claris natalibus. Prima juventa quietis cupidine senatorium ordinem exuerat; idem pro Galba dux coloniae suae, eaque opera procu- 20
rationem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani partibus acerrimam bello facem praetulit: non tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus, pro certis et olim partis, nova, ambigua, ancipitia malebat. Igitur movere et quatere, quidquid usquam aegrum foret, aggrediun- 25
tur. Scriptae in Britanniam ad quartadecumanos, in Hispaniam ad primanos epistolae, quod utraque legio pro Othone, adversa Vitellio fuerat; sparguntur per Gallias literae; momentoque temporis flagrabat ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam desciscentibus, ceteris 30
fortunam secuturis.

87. Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano ducibusque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque, ad omnis municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistens, gravi urbem agmine petebat. Sexaginta milia armatorum sequebantur, licentia corrupta; 5
calonum numerus amplior, procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis; tot legatorum amicorumque comitatus inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia regeretur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe senatores equitesque, quidam metu, multi per 10

adulationem, ceteri ac paulatim omnes, ne aliis proficiscentibus ipsi remanerent. Aggregabantur e plebe flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti, scurrae, histriones, aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamen-
15 tis mire gaudebat. Nec coloniae modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur.

89. Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio insigni equo, paludatus accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus ut captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumpta praetexta et compo-
5 sito agmine incessit. Quattuor legionum aquilae per frontem, totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa et post peditum ordines eques; dein quattuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum forent, discretae. Ante
10 aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste, ceteri juxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque fulgentes; et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant: decora facies et non Vitellio principe dignus exercitus. Sic Capitolium ingressus
15 atque ibi matrem complexus Augustae nomine honoravit.

90. Postera die, tanquam apud alterius civitatis senatum populumque, magnificam orationem de semet ipso prompsit, industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus attollens, consciis flagitiorum ipsis qui aderant
5 omnique Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. Vulgus tamen, vacuum curis et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum, clamore et vocibus astrepebat; abnuentique nomen Augusti expressere ut assumeret, tam frustra quam recu-
10 saverat.

93. Sed miles, plenis castris et redundante multitudine, in porticibus aut delubris et urbe tota vagus, non principia noscere, non servare vigilias, neque labore firmari: per illecebras urbis et inhonesta dictu, corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant. Postremo, ne 5 salutis quidem cura, infamibus Vaticani locis magna pars tetendit, unde crebrae in vulgus mortes; et adjacente Tiberi, Germanorum Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditas et aestus impatientia labefecit. Insuper confusus pravitate vel ambitu ordo militiae: 10 sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur, quis singula milia inessent. Plus in eo dilectu Valens audebat, tanquam ipsum Caecinam periculo exemisset: sane adventu ejus partes convaluerant, et sinistrum lenti itineris rumorem prospero proelio ver- 15 terat: omnisque inferioris Germaniae miles Valentem assectabatur, unde primum creditur Caecinae fides fluitasse.

94. Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit Vitellius, ut non plus militi liceret. Sibi quisque militiam sumpsere: quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae asscribebatur; rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus permissum. Nec deerant qui 5 vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem caeli incusantes; robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta, convulsum castrorum decus, viginti milibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam electis.

HISTORIARUM LIBER TERTIUS.

1. Meliore fato fideque partium Flavianarum duces consilia belli tractabant. Poetovionem in hiberna tertiae decumae legionis convenerant: illic agitavere placeretne obstrui Pannoniae Alpes, donec a tergo
5 vires universae consurgerent, an ire comminus et certarė pro Italia constantius foret. Quibus opperiri auxilia et trahere bellum videbatur, Germanicarum legionum vim famamque extollebant, et advenisse mox cum Vitellio Britannici exercitus robora: ispis nec
10 numerum parem pulsarum nuper legionum, et quanquam atrociter loquerentur, minorem esse apud victos animum. Sed insessis interim Alpibus venturum cum copiis Orientis Mucianum; superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia provinciarum, per quas velut alterius
15 belli molem cieret. Ita salubri mora novas vires adfore et praesentibus nihil periturum.

2. Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli concitator) festinationem ipsis utilem, Vitellio exitiosam disseruit: plus socordiae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus; neque enim in procinctu et castris habitos;
5 per omnia Italiae municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos, quanto ferocius ante se egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse. Circo quoque ac theatris et amoenitate urbis emollitos aut valetudinibus fessos: sed addito spatio rediturum et his robur medi-
10 tatione belli; nec procul Germaniam, unde vires; Britanniam freto dirimi, juxta Gallias Hispaniasque, utrimque viros, equos, tributa, ipsamque Italiam et opes urbis; ac si inferre arma ultro velint, duas classes

vacuumque Illyricum mare. Quid tum claustra montium profutura? quid tractum in aestatem aliam bellum? unde interim pecuniam et commeatus? quin potius eo ipso uterentur, quod Pannonicae legiones, deceptae magis quam victae, resurgere in ultionem properent, Moesici exercitus integras vires attulerint. Si numerus militum potius quam legionum putetur, plus hinc roboris, nihil libidinum; et profuisse disciplinae ipsum pudorem: equites vero ne tum quidem victos, sed quanquam rebus adversis disjectam Vitellii aciem: 'duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae perrupere hostem: nunc sedecim alarum conjuncta signa pulsu, sonituque, et nube ipsa, operient ac superfundent oblitos proeliorum equites equosque. Nisi quis retinet, idem suasor auctorque consilii ero. Vos, quibus fortuna in integro est, legiones continete: mihi expeditae cohortes sufficient. Jam reseratam Italiam, impulsas Vitellii res audietis: juvabit sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere.'

3. Haec ac talia flagrans oculis, truci voce, quo latius audiretur (etenim se centuriones et quidam militum consilio miscuerant), ita effudit, ut cautos quoque ac providos permoveret, vulgus et ceteri unum virum ducemque, spreta aliorum segnitia, laudibus ferrent. Hanc sui famam ea statim concione commoverat, qua recitatis Vespasiani epistolis non ut plerique incerta disseruit, huc illuc tracturus interpretatione, prout conduxisset: aperte descendisse in causam videbatur, eoque gravior militibus erat culpae vel gloriae socius.

4. Proxima Cornelii Fusci procuratoris auctoritas. Is quoque inclementer in Vitellium invehi solitus nihil spei sibi inter adversa reliquerat. Tampius Flavianus, natura ac senecta cunctantior, suspitiones militum irri-

5 tabat, tanquam affinitatis cum Vitellio meminisset; idemque quod coeptante legionum motu profugus, dein sponte remeaverat, perfidiae locum quaesisse credebatur. Nam Flavianum, omissa Pannonia, ingressum Italiam et discrimini exemptum, rerum novarum cupido
10 legati nomen resumere et misceri civilibus armis impulerat, suadente Cornelio Fusco, non quia industria Flaviani egebat, sed ut consulare nomen surgentibus cum maxime partibus honesta specie praetenderetur.

6. Antonio vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapienti comes fuit Arrius Varus, strenuus bello, quam gloriam ei dux Corbulo et prosperae in Armenia res addiderant. Idem secretis
5 apud Neronem sermonibus ferebatur Corbulonis virtutes criminatus; unde infami gratia primum pilum adepto laeta ad praesens male parta mox in perniciem vertere. Sed Primus ac Varus, occupata Aquileia, per proxima quaeque et Opitergii et Altini laetis animis
10 accipiuntur. Relictum Altini praesidium adversus classis Ravennatis conatus, nondum defectione ejus audita. Inde Patavium et Ateste partibus adjunxere: illic cognitum tres Vitellianas cohortes et alam, cui Sebosianae nomen, ad Forum Alieni ponte juncto con-
15 sedisse. Placuit occasio invadendi incuriosos; nam id quoque nuntiabatur: luce prima inermos plerosque oppressere. Praedictum ut, paucis interfectis, ceteros pavore ad mutandam fidem cogerent; et fuere qui se statim dederent: plures abrupto ponte instanti hosti
20 viam abstulerunt.

7. Vulgata victoria, post principia belli secundum Flavianos data, legiones septima Galbiana, tertia decuma Gemina cum Vedio Aquila legato Patavium alacres veniunt. Ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti, et

Minucius Justus praefectus castrorum legionis septimae, 5
quia adductius quam civili bello imperitabat, subtractus
militum irae ad Vespasianum missus est. Desiderata
diu res interpretatione gloriaque *in* majus accipitur,
postquam Galbae imagines discordia temporum subver-
sas in omnibus municipiis recoli jussit Antonius, deco- 10
rum pro causa ratus, si placere Galbae principatus et
partes revirescere crederentur.

8. Quaesitum inde quae sedes bello legeretur. Ve-
rona potior visa, patentibus circum campis ad pugnam
equestrem, qua praevalebant: simul coloniam copiis
validam auferre Vitellio in rem famamque videbatur.
Possessa ipso transitu Vicetia; quod per se parvum 5
(etenim modicae municipio vires) magni momenti locum
obtinuit reputantibus illic Caecinam genitum et patriam
hostium duci ereptam. In Veronensibus pretium fuit:
exemplo opibusque partes juvere; et interjectus exer-
citus Raetiam Juliasque Alpes, ac ne pervium illa Ger- 10
manicis excrcitibus foret, obsepserat. Quae ignara
Vespasiano aut vetita: quippe Aquileiae sisti bellum
exspectarique Mucianum jubebat, adjiciebatque imperio
consilium, quando Aegyptus, claustra annonae, vectiga-
lia opulentissimarum provinciarum obtinerentur, posse 15
Vitellii exercitum egestate stipendii frumentique ad
deditionem subigi. Eadem Mucianus crebris epistolis
monebat, incruentam et sine luctu victoriam et alia
hujusce modi praetexendo, sed gloriae avidus atque
omne belli decus sibi retinens. Ceterum ex distantibus 20
terrarum spatiis consilia post res afferebantur.

9. Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes hos-
tium irrupit, tentatisque levi proelio animis ex aequo
discessum. Mox Caecina inter Hostiliam, vicum Vero-
nensium, et paludes Tartari fluminis castra permuniit,

5 tabat, tanquam affinitatis cum Vitellio meminisset; idemque quod coeptante legionum motu profugus, dein sponte remeaverat, perfidiae locum quaesisse credebatur. Nam Flavianum, omissa Pannonia, ingressum Italiam et discrimini exemptum, rerum novarum cupido
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obtinuit reputantibus illic Caecinam genitum et patriam
hostium duci ereptam. In Veronensibus pretium fuit:
exemplo opibusque partes juvere; et interjectus exercitus Raetiam Juliasque Alpes, ac ne pervium illa Germanicis exercitibus foret, obsepserat. Quae ignara 10
Vespasiano aut vetita: quippe Aquileiae sisti bellum
exspectarique Mucianum jubebat, adjiciebatque imperio
consilium, quando Aegyptus, claustra annonae, vectigalia opulentissimarum provinciarum obtinerentur, posse 15
Vitellii exercitum egestate stipendii frumentique ad
deditionem subigi. Eadem Mucianus crebris epistolis
monebat, incruentam et sine luctu victoriam et alia
hujusce modi praetexendo, sed gloriae avidus atque
omne belli decus sibi retinens. Ceterum ex distantibus 20
terrarum spatiis consilia post res afferebantur.

9. Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes hostium irrupit, tentatisque levi proelio animis ex aequo
discessum. Mox Caecina inter Hostiliam, vicum Veronensium, et paludes Tartari fluminis castra permuniit,

5 tutus loco, cum terga flumine, latera objectu paludis tegerentur: quod si adfuisset fides, aut opprimi universis Vitellianorum viribus duae legiones, nondum conjuncto Moesico exercitu, potuere, aut retro actae deserta Italia turpem fugam conscivissent. Sed Caecina per
10 varias moras prima hostibus prodidit tempora belli, dum quos armis pellere promptum erat epistolis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidiae firmaret. Interim Aponius Saturninus cum legione septima Claudiana advenit: legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messalla praeerat,
15 claris majoribus, egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset. Has ad copias nequaquam Vitellianis pares (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit epistolas Caecina, temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusans: simul virtus Germanici exercitus laudibus
20 attollebatur, Vitellii modica et vulgari mentione, nulla in Vespasianum contumelia: nihil prorsus quod aut corrumperet hostem aut terreret. Flavianarum partium duces, omissa prioris fortunae defensione, pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa fidenter, de exitu
25 securi, in Vitellium ut inimici praesumpsere, facta tribunis centurionibusque retinendi quae Vitellius indulsisset spe; atque ipsum Caecinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. Recitatae pro concione epistolae addidere fiduciam, quod submisse Caecina,
30 velut offendere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim tanquam insultantes Vitellio scripsissent.

10. Adventu deinde duarum legionum, e quibus tertiam Dillius Aponianus, octavam Numisius Lupus ducebant, ostentare vires et militari vallo Veronam circumdare placuit. Forte Galbianae legioni in adversa fronte
5 valli opus cesserat, et visi procul sociorum equites vanam formidinem ut hostes fecere. Rapiuntur arma metu

proditionis: ira militum in Tampium Flavianum incubuit, nullo criminis argumento, sed jam pridem invisus turbine quodam ad exitium poscebatur: propinquum Vitellii, proditorem Othonis, interceptorem donativi 10 clamitabant. Nec defensioni locus, quanquam supplices manus tenderet, humi plerumque stratus, lacera veste, pectus atque ora singultu quatiens; id ipsum apud infensos incitamentum erat, tanquam nimius pavor conscientiam argueret. Obturbatur militum vocibus Apo- 15 nius, cum loqui coeptaret; fremitu et clamore ceteros aspernantur: uni Antonio apertae militum aures; namque et facundia aderat mulcendique vulgus artes et auctoritas. Ubi crudescere seditio et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant, injici catenas Fla- 20 viano jubet. Sensit ludibrium miles, disjectisque qui tribunal tuebantur extrema vis parabatur. Opposuit sinum Antonius stricto ferro, aut militum se manibus aut suis moriturum obtestans; ut quemque notum et aliquo militari decore insignem aspexerat, ad ferendam 25 opem nomine ciens. Mox conversus ad signa et bellorum deos, hostium potius exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam injicerent, orabat, donec fatisceret seditio et extremo jam die sua quisque in tentoria dilaberentur. Profectus eadem nocte Flavianus obviis 30 Vespasiani literis discrimini exemptus est.

15. Ubi haec comperta Antonio, discordes animis, discretos viribus hostium exercitus aggredi statuit, antequam ducibus auctoritas, militi obsequium et junctis legionibus fiducia rediret. Namque Fabium Valentem profectum ab urbe acceleraturumque cognita 5 Caecinae proditione conjectabat; et fidus Vitellio Fabius nec militiae ignarus. Simul ingens Germanorum vis per Raetiam timebatur; ex Britannia, Gallia-

que et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciverat, immensam
10 belli molem, ni Antonius id ipsum metuens festinato
proelio victoriam praecepisset. Universo cum exercitu
secundis a Verona castris Bedriacum venit: postero
die legionibus ad muniendum retentis, auxiliares cohortes in Cremonensem agrum missae, ut specie parandarum copiarum civili praeda milites imbuerentur: ipse
cum quattuor milibus equitum ad octavum a Bedriaco
progressus, quo licentius popularentur; exploratores,
ut mos est, longius cursabant.

16. Quinta ferme hora diei erat, cum citus eques
adventare hostes, praegredi paucos, motum fremitumque late audiri nuntiavit. Dum Antonius quidnam
agendum consultat, aviditate navandae operae Arrius
5 Varus cum promptissimis equitum prorupit impulitque
Vitellianos modica caede; nam plurium accursu versa
fortuna, et acerrimus quisque sequentium fugae ultimus
erat: nec sponte Antonii properatum, et fore quae
acciderant rebatur. Hortatus suos ut magno animo
10 capesserent pugnam, diductis in latera turmis vacuum
medio relinquit iter, quo Varum equitesque ejus reciperet; jussae armari legiones; datum per agros signum
ut, qua cuique proximum, omissa praeda proelio occurreret. Pavidus interim Varus turbae suorum miscetur
15 intulitque formidinem: pulsi, cum sauciis integri, suomet ipsi metu et angustiis viarum conflictabantur.

17. Nullum in illa trepidatione Antonius constantis
ducis aut fortis militis officium omisit: occursare paventibus, retinere cedentes, ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua
spes, consilio, manu, voce insignis hosti, conspicuus
5 suis: eo postremo ardoris provectus est, ut vexillarium
fugientem hasta transverberaret; mox raptum vexillum
in hostem vertit: quo pudore haud plures quam centum

equites restitere. Juvit locus, artiore illic via et fracto interfluentis rivi ponte, qui incerto alveo et praecipitibus ripis fugam impediebat: ea necessitas seu fortuna, 10 lapsas jam partes restituit. Firmati inter se densis ordinibus excipiunt Vitellianos temere effusos, atque illi consternantur. Antonius instare perculsis, sternere obvios; simul ceteri, ut cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere: et exciti prospero cla- 15 more, qui modo per agros fuga palabantur, victoriae se miscebant.

18. Ad quartum a Cremona lapidem fulsere legionum signa Rapacis atque Italicae, laeto inter initia equitum suorum proelio illuc usque provecta. Sed ubi fortuna contra fuit, non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos, non obviam ire ultroque aggredi hostem, tantum per 5 spatium cursu et pugnando fessum. Forte profecti haud perinde rebus prosperis ducem desideraverant atque in adversis deesse intelligebant. Nutantem aciem victor equitatus incursat: et Vipstanus Messalla tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliaribus assequitur, quos 10 multi e legionariis quanquam raptim ductos aequabant: ita mixtus pedes equesque rupere legionum agmen. Et propinqua Cremonensium moenia quanto plus spei ad effugium, minorem ad resistendum animum dabant. Nec Antonius ultra institit, memor laboris ac vul- 15 nerum, quibus tam anceps proelii fortuna, quamvis prospero fine, equites equosque afflictaverat.

19. Inumbrante vespera universum Flaviani exercitus robur advenit: utque cumulos super et recentia caede vestigia incessere, quasi debellatum foret, pergere Cremonam et victos in deditionem accipere aut expugnare deposcunt. Haec in medio, pulchra dictu: 5 illa sibi quisque, posse coloniam plano sitam impetu

capi. Idem audaciae per tenebras irrumpentibus, et majorem rapiendi licentiam: quod si lucem opperiantur, jam pacem, jam preces, et pro labore ac vulneribus
10 clementiam et gloriam, inania, laturos; sed opes Cremonensium in sinu praefectorum legatorumque fore. Expugnatae urbis praedam ad militem, deditae ad duces pertinere. Spernuntur centuriones tribunique, ac ne vox cujusquam audiatur, quatiunt arma, rupturi
15 imperium, ni ducantur.

20. Tum Antonius inserens se manipulis, ubi aspectu et auctoritate silentium fecerat, non se decus neque pretium eripere tam bene meritis affirmabat, sed divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia: militibus cupidinem
5 pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione saepius quam temeritate prodesse. Ut pro virili portione armis ac manu victoriam juverit, ratione et consilio, propriis ducis artibus, profuturum; neque enim ambigua esse quae occurrant, noctem et ignotae
10 situm urbis, intus hostes et cuncta insidiis opportuna: non si pateant portae, nisi explorato, nisi die intrandum. An oppugnationem inchoaturos adempto omni prospectu, quis aequus locus, quanta altitudo moenium, tormentisne et telis an operibus et vineis aggredienda
15 urbs foret? Mox conversus ad singulos, num secures dolabrasque et cetera expugnandis urbibus secum attulissent, rogitabat. Et cum abnuerent, 'gladiisne' inquit 'et pilis perfringere ac subruere muros ullae manus possunt? si aggerem struere, si pluteis cratibusve pro-
20 tegi necesse fuerit, ut vulgus improvidum irriti stabimus, altitudinem turrium et aliena munimenta mirantes? quin potius mora noctis unius, advectis tormentis machinisque, vim victoriamque nobiscum ferimus?' Simul lixas calonesque cum recentissimis equitum
25 Bedriacum mittit, copias ceteraque usui allaturos.

21. Id vero aegre tolerante milite prope seditionem ventum, cum progressi equites sub ipsa moenia vagos ex Cremonensibus corripiunt, quorum indicio noscitur sex Vitellianas legiones omnemque exercitum, qui Hostiliae egerat, eo ipso die triginta milia passuum emen- 5 sum, comperta suorum clade, in proelium accingi ac jam adfore. Is terror obstructas mentes consiliis ducis aperuit. Sistere tertiam decumam legionem in ipso viae Postumiae aggere jubet, cui juncta a laevo septima Galbiana patenti campo stetit, dein septima Claudiana, 10 agresti fossa (ita locus erat) praemunita; dextro octava per apertum limitem, mox tertia densis arbustis intersepta. Hic aquilarum signorumque ordo: milites mixti per tenebras, ut fors tulerat; praetorianum vexillum proximum tertianis, cohortes auxiliorum in cornibus, latera 15 ac terga equite circumdata: Sido atque Italicus Suevi, cum delectis popularium, primori in acie versabantur.

22. At Vitellianus exercitus, cui acquiescere Cremonae, et reciperatis cibo somnoque viribus, confectum algore atque inedia hostem postera die profligare ac proruere ratio fuit, indigus rectoris, inops consilii, tertia ferme noctis hora paratis jam dispositisque Flavianis 5 impingitur. Ordinem agminis disjecti per iram ac tenebras asseverare non ausim, quanquam alii tradiderint quartam Macedonicam dextrum suorum cornu, quintam et quintam decumam cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicesimae Britannicarum legionum mediam 10 aciem, sextadecumanos duoetvicesimanosque et primanos laevum cornu complesse. Rapaces atque Italici omnibus se manipulis miscuerant; eques auxiliaque sibi ipsi locum legere. Proelium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rursus illis exitiabile: nihil animus 15 aut manus, ne oculi quidem provisu juvabant: eadem

utraque acie arma, crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum, permixta vexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc vel illuc raptabat. Urguebatur
20 maxime septima legio, nuper a Galba conscripta: occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones, abrepta quaedam signa; ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus primi pili centurio multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum moriens servaverat.

23. Sustinuit labentem aciem Antonius accitis praetorianis; qui ubi excepere pugnam, pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur. Namque Vitelliani tormenta in aggerem viae contulerant, ut tela vacuo atque aperto excuterentur,
5 dispersa primo et arbustis sine hostium noxa illisa. Magnitudine eximia quintae decumae legionis ballista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem proruebat: lateque cladem intulisset, ni duo milites praeclarum facinus ausi, arreptis e strage scutis ignorati, vincla ac libra-
10 menta tormento abscidissent. Statim confossi sunt eoque intercidere nomina: de facto haud ambigitur. Neutro inclinaverat fortuna, donec adulta nocte luna surgens obstenderet acies falleretque. Sed Flavianis aequior a tergo; hinc majores equorum virorumque
15 umbrae, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu tela hostium citra cadebant: Vitelliani adverso lumine collucentes velut ex occulto jaculantibus incauti offerebantur.

24. Igitur Antonius ubi noscere suos noscique poterat, alios pudore et probris, multos laude et hortatu, omnes spe promissisque accendens, cur rursus sumpsissent arma, Pannonicas legiones interrogabat: illos esse
5 campos, in quibus abolere labem prioris ignominiae, ubi reciperare gloriam possent. Tum ad Moesicos conversus principes auctoresque belli ciebat: frustra minis et verbis provocatos Vitellianos, si manus eorum oculosque

non tolerent. Haec, ut quosque accesserat; plura ad tertianos, veterum recentiumque admonens, ut sub M. 10 Antonio Parthos, sub Corbulone Armenios, nuper Sarmatas pepulissent. Mox infensius praetorianis 'vos' inquit, 'nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quae castra alia excipient? Illic signa armaque vestra sunt, et mors victis; nam ignominiam consumpsistis.' Undi- 15 que clamor, et orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere.

25. Vagus inde, an consilio ducis subditus rumor, advenisse Mucianum, exercitus invicem salutasse. Gradum inferunt quasi recentibus auxiliis aucti, rariore jam Vitellianorum acie, ut quos nullo rectore suus quemque impetus vel pavor contraheret diduceretve. 5 Postquam impulsos sensit Antonius, denso agmine obturbabat: Laxati ordines abrumpuntur, nec restitui quivere impedientibus vehiculis tormentisque. Per limitem viae sparguntur festinatione consectandi victores. Eo notabilior caedes fuit, quia filius patrem inter- 10 fecit: rem nominaque auctore Vipstano Messalla tradam. Julius Mansuetus ex Hispania, Rapaci legioni additus, impubem filium domi liquerat: is mox adultus, inter septimanos a Galba conscriptus, oblatum forte patrem et vulnere stratum, dum semianimen scrutatur, 15 agnitus agnoscensque et exsanguem amplexus, voce flebili precabatur placatos patris manes, neve se ut parricidam aversarentur: publicum id facinus; et unum militem quotam civilium armorum partem? Simul attollere corpus, aperire humum, supremo erga paren- 20 tem officio fungi. Advertere proximi, deinde plures: hinc per omnem aciem miraculum et questus et saevissimi belli exsecratio: nec eo segnius propinquos, affinis, fratres trucidant spoliant; factum esse scelus loquuntur faciuntque. 25

26. Ut Cremonam venere, novum immensumque opus occurrit. Othoniano bello Germanicus miles moenibus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumjecerat eaque munimenta rursus auxerat; quorum
5 aspectu haesere victores, incertis ducibus quid juberent. Incipere oppugnationem, fesso per diem noctemque exercitu arduum, et nullo juxta subsidio anceps: sin Bedriacum redirent, intolerandus tam longi itineris labor, et victoria ad irritum revolvebatur: munire cas-
10 tra, id quoque propinquis hostibus formidolosum, ne dispersos et opus molientes subita eruptione turbarent. Quae super cuncta terrebat ipsorum miles periculi quam morae patientior: quippe ingrata quae tuta, ex temeritate spes; omnisque caedes et vulnera et sanguis avi-
15 ditate praedae pensabantur.

27. Huc inclinavit Antonius cingique vallum corona jussit. Primo sagittis saxisque eminus certabant, majore Flavianorum pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur; mox vallum portasque legionibus attribuit, ut discretus
5 labor fortes ignavosque distingueret, atque ipsa contentione decoris accenderentur: proxima Bedriacensi viae tertiani septimanique sumpsere, dexteriora valli octava ac septima Claudiana; tertiadecumanos ad Brixianam portam impetus tulit. Paulum inde morae,
10 dum ex proximis agris ligones, dolabras, et alii falces scalasque convectant: tum elatis super capita scutis densa testudine succedunt. Romanae utrimque artes: pondera saxorum Vitelliani provolvunt, disjectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur,
15 donec soluta compage scutorum exsangues aut laceros prosternerent multa cum strage. Incesserat cunctatio, ni duces fesso militi et velut irritas exhortationes abnuenti Cremonam monstrassent.

28. Hormine id ingenium, ut Messalla tradit, an potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium incusat, haud facile discreverim, nisi quod neque Antonius neque Hormus a fama vitaque sua quamvis pessimo flagitio degeneravere. Non jam sanguis neque vulnera mora- 5 bantur quin subruerent vallum quaterentque portas, innixi humeris et super iteratam testudinem scandentes prensarent hostium tela brachiaque: integri cum sauciis, semineces cum exspirantibus volvuntur, varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium. 10

29. Acerrimum tertiae septimaeque legionum certamen; et dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliaribus eodem incubuerat. Obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent et superjacta tela testudine laberentur, ipsam postremo ballistam in subuentes propulere, quae 5 ut ad praesens disjecit obruitque quos inciderat, ita pinnas ac summa valli ruina sua traxit; simul juncta turris ictibus saxorum cessit, qua septimani dum nituntur cuneis, tertianus securibus gladiisque portam perfregit. Primum irrupisse C. Volusium tertiae legionis 10 militem inter omnes auctores constat: is in vallum egressus, deturbatis qui restiterant, conspicuus manu ac voce capta castra conclamavit; ceteri trepidis jam Vitellianis seque e vallo praecipitantibus perrupere. Completur caede quantum inter castra murosque vacui 15 fuit.

30. Ac rursus nova laborum facies: ardua urbis moenia, saxeae turres, ferrati portarum obices, vibrans tela miles, frequens obstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus, magna pars Italiae stato in eosdem dies mercatu congregata, quod defensoribus auxi- 5 lium ob multitudinem, oppugnantibus incitamentum ob praedam erat. Rapi ignes Antonius inferrique amoe-

nissimis extra urbem aedificiis jubet, si damno rerum suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur.
10 Propinqua muris tecta et altitudinem moenium egressa fortissimo quoque militum complet; illi trabibus tegulisque et facibus propugnatores deturbant.

31. Jam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur, et alii tela saxaque incutiebant, cum languescere paulatim Vitellianorum animi. Ut quis ordine anteibat, cedere fortunae, ne Cremona quoque excisa, nulla ultra venia,
5 omnisque ira victoris non in vulgus inops sed in tribunos centurionesque, ubi pretium caedis erat, reverteretur. Gregarius miles futuri socors et ignobilitate tutior perstabat: vagi per vias, in domibus abditi, pacem ne tum quidem orabant, cum bellum posuissent. Primores
10 castrorum nomen atque imagines Vitellii amoliuntur; catenas Caecinae (nam etiam tum vinctus erat) exsolvunt, orantque ut causae suae deprecator assistat: aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fatigant, extremum malorum, tot fortissimi viri proditoris opem invocantes;
15 mox velamenta et infulas pro muris ostentant. Cum Antonius inhiberi tela jussisset, signa aquilasque extulere; maestum inermium agmen, dejectis in terram oculis, sequebatur. Circumstiterant victores et primo ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus: mox, ut praeberi
20 ora contumeliis, et posita omni ferocia cuncta victi patiebantur, subit recordatio illos esse qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent. Sed ubi Caecina praetexta lictoribusque insignis, dimota turba, consul incessit, exarsere victores; superbiam saevitiamque (adeo invisa
25 scelera sunt), etiam perfidiam objectabant: obstitit Antonius datisque defensoribus ad Vespasianum dimisit.

32. Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos con-

flictabatur; nec procul caede aberant, cum precibus ducum mitigatus est miles. Et vocatos ad concionem Antonius alloquitur, magnifice victores, victos clementer, de Cremona in neutrum. Exercitus praeter insitam 5 praedandi cupidinem vetere odio ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit: juvisse partes Vitellianas Othonis quoque bello credebantur; mox tertiadecumanos ad extruendum amphitheatrum relictos, ut sunt procacia urbanae plebis ingenia, petulantibus jurgiis illuserant. 10 Auxit invidiam editum illic a Caecina gladiatorum spectaculum, eademque rursus belli sedes, et praebiti in acie Vitellianis cibi, caesae quaedam feminae studio partium ad proelium progressae; tempus quoque mercatus ditem alioqui coloniam majore opum specie com- 15 plebat. Ceteri duces in obscuro: Antonium fortuna famaque omnium oculis exposuerat. Is balineas abluendo cruori propere petit: excepta vox est, cum teporem incusaret, statim futurum ut incalescerent: vernile dictum omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tanquam 20 signum incendendae Cremonae dedisset, quae jam flagrabat.

34. Hic exitus Cremonae anno ducentesimo octogesimo sexto a primordio sui. Condita erat Ti. Sempronio P. Cornelio consulibus, ingruente in Italiam Annibale, propugnaculum adversus Gallos trans Padum agentes, et si qua alia vis per Alpes rueret. Igitur 5 numero colonorum, opportunitate fluminum, ubere agri, annexu conubiisque gentium adolevit floruitque, bellis externis intacta, civilibus infelix. Antonius pudore flagitii, crebrescente invidia, edixit ne quis Cremonensem captivum detineret. Irritamque prae- 10 dam militibus effecerat consensus Italiae, emptionem talium mancipiorum aspernantis: occidi coepere; quod

ubi enotuit, a propinquis affinibusque occulte redemptabantur. Mox rediit Cremonam reliquus populus:
15 reposita fora templaque magnificentia municipum; et Vespasianus hortabatur.

35. Ceterum assidere sepultae urbis ruinis noxia tabo humus haud diu permisit. Ad tertium lapidem progressi vagos paventesque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa, componunt; et victae legiones ne, manente
5 adhuc civili bello, ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersae. In Britanniam inde et Hispanias nuntios famamque, in Galliam Julium Calenum tribunum, in Germaniam Alpinium Montanum praefectum cohortis, quod hic Trevir, Calenus Aeduus, uterque Vitelliani
10 fuerant, ostentui misere. Simul transitus Alpium praesidiis occupati, suspecta Germania, tanquam in auxilium Vitellii accingeretur.

36. At Vitellius profecto Caecina, cum Fabium Valentem paucis post diebus ad bellum impulisset, curis luxum obtendebat: non parare arma, non alloquio exercitioque militem firmare, non in ore vulgi agere,
5 sed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, jacent torpentque, praeterita, instantia, futura, pari oblivione dimiserat. Atque illum, in nemore Aricino desidem et marcentem, proditio Lucilii Bassi ac defectio classis Ravennatis per-
10 culit; nec multo post de Caecina affertur mixtus gaudio dolor, et descivisse et ab exercitu vinctum: plus apud socordem animum laetitia quam cura valuit. Multa cum exsultatione in urbem revectus, frequenti concione, pietatem militum laudibus cumulat; Publilium Sabi-
15 num praetorii praefectum ob amicitiam Caecinae vinciri jubet, substituto in locum ejus Alfeno Varo.

54. At Vitellius, fractis apud Cremonam rebus,

nuntios cladis occultans stulta dissimulatione, remedia potius malorum quam mala differebat. Quippe confitenti consultantique supererant spes viresque: cum e contrario laeta omnia fingeret, falsis ingravescebat. 5
Mirum apud ipsum de bello silentium; prohibiti per civitatem sermones eoque plures, ac si liceret vere narraturi, quia vetabantur atrociora vulgaverant. Nec duces hostium augendae famae deerant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque, ut robora victoris exer- 10
citus noscerent, remittendo; quos omnis Vitellius secreto percontatus interfici jussit. Notabili constantia centurio Julius Agrestis, post multos sermones, quibus Vitellium ad virtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit ut ad vires hostium spectandas quaeque apud Cremonam 15
acta forent ipse mitteretur. Nec exploratione occulta fallere Antonium tentavit, sed mandata imperatoris suumque animum professus, ut cuncta viseret postulat: missi qui locum proelii, Cremonae vestigia, captas legiones ostenderent. Agrestis ad Vitellium remeavit, 20
abnuentique vera esse quae afferet atque ultro corruptum arguenti, 'quando quidem' inquit 'magno documento opus est, nec alius jam tibi aut vitae aut mortis meae usus, dabo cui credas.' Atque ita digressus voluntaria morte dicta firmavit: quidam jussu Vitellii 25
interfectum, de fide constantiaque eadem tradidere.

63. Abrupta undique spe, Vitellianus miles transiturus in partes, id quoque non sine decore, sed sub signis vexillisque in subjectos Narniae campos descendere. Flavianus exercitus, ut ad proelium intentus ornatusque, densis circa viam ordinibus assiterat. 5
Accepti in medium Vitelliani, et circumdatos Primus Antonius clementer alloquitur: pars Narniae, pars Interamnae subsistere jussi. Relictae simul e victrici-

bus legiones, neque quiescentibus graves et adversus
10 contumaciam validae. Non omisere per eos dies Primus ac Varus crebris nuntiis salutem et pecuniam et secreta Campaniae offerre Vitellio, si positis armis seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset: in eundem modum et Mucianus composuit epistolas; quibus
15 plerumque fidere Vitellius, ac de numero servorum, electione litorum loqui. Tanta torpedo invaserat animum, ut, si principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur.

69. Praevenerat rumor ejurari ab eo imperium, scripseratque Flavius Sabinus cohortium tribunis ut militem cohiberent. Igitur tanquam omnis respublica in Vespasiani sinum cecidisset, primores senatus et
5 plerique equestris ordinis, omnisque miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii Sabini complevere: illuc de studiis vulgi et minis Germanicarum cohortium affertur. Longius jam progressus erat, quam ut regredi posset; et suo quisque metu, ne disjectos eoque minus
10 validos Vitelliani consectarentur, cunctantem in arma impellebant: sed quod in ejusmodi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpsere. Circa lacum Fundani descendentibus qui Sabinum comitabantur armatis occurrunt promptissimi Vitellia-
15 norum. Modicum ibi proelium improviso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis fuit. Sabinus re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem Capitolii insedit, mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum equitumque, quorum nomina tradere haud promptum est, quoniam,
20 victore Vespasiano, multi id meritum erga partes simulavere. Subierunt obsidium etiam feminae, inter quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos neque propinquos sed bellum secuta. Vitellianus miles so-

cordi custodia clausos circumdedit; eoque, concubia nocte, suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum fratris filium 25 in Capitolium accivit, misso per neglecta ad Flavianos duces nuntio, qui circumsideri ipsos et, ni subveniretur, artas res nuntiaret. Noctem adeo quietam egit, ut digredi sine noxa potuerit: quippe miles Vitellii adversus pericula ferox, laboribus et vigiliis parum intentus 30 erat, et hibernus imber repente fusus oculos auresque impediebat.

70. Luce prima Sabinus, antequam invicem hostilia coeptarent, Cornelium Martialem e primipilaribus ad Vitellium misit, cum mandatis et questu quod pacta turbarentur: simulationem prorsus et imaginem deponendi imperii fuisse ad decipiendos tot illustres viros: 5 cur enim e rostris fratris domum, imminentem foro et irritandis hominum oculis, quam Aventinum et penates uxoris petisset? ita privato et omnem principatus speciem vitanti convenisse. Contra Vitellium in Palatium, in ipsam imperii arcem regressum; inde armatum 10 agmen emissum, stratam innocentium caedibus celeberrimam urbis partem, ne Capitolio quidem abstineri. Togatum nempe se et unum e senatoribus, dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium proeliis legionum, captivitatibus urbium, deditionibus cohortium judicatur; jam 15 Hispaniis Germaniisque et Britannia desciscentibus, fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in fide, donec ultro ad condiciones vocaretur: pacem et concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse. Si conventionis paeniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit, ferro peteret, 20 non filium Vespasiani vix puberem — quantum occisis uno sene et uno juvene profici? — iret obviam legionibus et de summa rerum illic certaret: cetera secundum eventum proelii cessura. Trepidus ad haec Vitellius

25 pauca purgandi sui causa respondit, culpam in militem conferens, cujus nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam; et monuit Martialem, ut per secretam aedium partem occulte abiret, ne *a* militibus internuntius invisae pacis interficeretur: ipse neque jubendi neque
30 vetandi potens, non jam imperator sed tantum belli causa erat.

71. Vixdum regresso in Capitolium Martiale furens miles aderat, nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor: cito agmine forum et imminentia foro templa praetervecti erigunt aciem per adversum collem usque ad primas
5 Capitolinae arcis fores. Erant antiquitus porticus in latere clivi dextrae subeuntibus, in quarum tectum egressi saxis tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant. Neque illis manus nisi gladiis armatae; et arcessere tormenta aut missilia tela longum videbatur: faces in prominen-
10 tem porticum jecere; et sequebantur ignem ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora majorum, in ipso aditu vice muri objecisset. Tum diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt, juxta lucum asyli et qua Tarpeia rupes centum
15 gradibus aditur: improvisa utraque vis; propior atque acrior per asylum ingruebat. Nec sisti poterant scandentes per conjuncta aedificia, quae, ut in multa pace, in altum edita solum Capitolii aequabant. Hic ambigitur, ignem tectis oppugnatores injecerint, an obsessi,
20 quae crebrior fama, ita nitentes ac progressos depulerint. Inde lapsus ignis in porticus appositas aedibus: mox sustinentes fastigium aquilae vetere ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque: sic Capitolium clausis foribus indefensum et indireptum conflagravit.

72. Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque reipublicae populi Romani accidit,

nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis, sedem Jovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a majoribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna, dedita urbe, neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi. Arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata: nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum, quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis pretio? stetit pro patria bellavimus. Voverat Tarquinius Priscus rex bello Sabino, jeceratque fundamenta, spe magis futurae magnitudinis, quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani res sufficerent. Mox Servius Tullius sociorum studio, dein Tarquinius Superbus capta Suessa Pometia hostium spoliis extruxere. Sed gloria operis libertati reservata: pulsis regibus, Horatius Pulvillus iterum consul dedicavit, ea magnificentia, quam immensae postea populi Romani opes ornarent potius quam augerent. Isdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam interjecto quadringentorum quindecim annorum spatio, L. Scipione C. Norbano consulibus, flagraverat. Curam victor Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati ejus negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit. Ea tunc aedes cremabatur.

73. Sed plus pavoris obsessis quam obsessoribus intulit, quippe Vitellianus miles neque astu neque constantia inter dubia indigebat: ex diverso trepidi milites, dux segnis et velut captus animi, non lingua, non auribus competere; neque alienis consiliis regi, neque sua expedire; huc illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi; quae jusserat, vetare, quae vetuerat, jubere; mox, quod in perditis rebus accidit, omnes praecipere, nemo exsequi: postremo, abjectis armis, fugam et fallendi artes circum-

10 spectabant. Irrumpunt Vitelliani et cuncta sanguine ferro flammisque miscent. Pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtruncantur. Flavium Sabinum inermem neque 15 fugam coeptantem circumsistunt, et Quintium Atticum consulem, umbra honoris et suamet vanitate monstratum, quod edicta in populum pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium jecerat. Ceteri per varios casus elapsi, quidam servili habitu, alii fide 20 clientium contecti, et inter sarcinas abditi: fuere qui excepto Vitellianorum signo, quo inter se noscebantur, ultro rogitantes respondentesve audaciam pro latebra haberent.

74. Domitianus prima irruptione apud aedituum occultatus, sollertia liberti lineo amictu turbae sacricolarum immixtus ignoratusque, apud Cornelium Primum paternum clientem juxta Velabrum delituit: ac potiente 5 rerum patre, disjecto aeditui contubernio, modicum sacellum Jovi Conservatori aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam; mox imperium adeptus Jovi Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu dei sacravit. Sabinus et Atticus onerati catenis et ad Vitellium 10 ducti nequaquam infesto sermone vultuque excipiuntur, frementibus qui jus caedis et praemia navatae operae petebant: clamore *a* proximis orto sordida pars plebis supplicium Sabini exposcit, minas adulationesque miscet. Stantem pro gradibus Palatii Vitellium et preces 15 parantem pervicere ut absisteret: tum confossum collaceratumque, et absciso capite, truncum corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt.

78. Dum haec in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Narnia Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies

Ocriculi per otium agitabat. Causa tam pravae morae, ut Mucianum opperirentur. Nec defuere qui Antonium suspicionibus arguerent, tanquam dolo cunctantem 5 post secretas Vitellii epistolas, quibus consulatum et nubilem filiam et dotales opes pretium proditionis offerebat. Alii ficta haec et in gratiam Muciani composita; quidam omnium id ducum consilium fuisse, ostentare potius urbi bellum quam inferre, quando 10 validissimae cohortes a Vitellio descivissent, et abscisis omnibus praesidiis cessurus imperio videbatur: sed cuncta festinatione, deinde ignavia Sabini corrupta, qui sumptis temere armis munitissimam Capitolii arcem et ne magnis quidem exercitibus expugnabilem adversus 15 tres cohortes tueri nequivisset: haud facile quis uni assignaverit culpam, quae omnium fuit. Nam et Mucianus ambiguis epistolis victores morabatur, et Antonius praepostero obsequio, vel dum regerit invidiam, crimen meruit; ceterique duces dum peractum 20 bellum putant, finem ejus insignivere: ne Petilius quidem Cerialis, cum mille equitibus praemissus, ut transversis itineribus per agrum Sabinum Salaria via urbem introiret, satis maturaverat, donec obsessi Capitolii fama cunctos simul exciret. 25

79. Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa rubra multo jam noctis serum auxilium venit. Illic interfectum Sabinum, conflagrasse Capitolium, tremere urbem, maesta omnia accepit; plebem quoque et servitia pro Vitellio armari nuntiabatur: et Petilio Ceriali equestre 5 proelium adversum fuerat; namque incautum et tanquam ad victos ruentem Vitelliani, interjectus equiti pedes, excepere. Pugnatum haud procul urbe inter aedificia hortosque et anfractus viarum, quae gnara Vitellianis, incomperta hostibus metum fecerant: neque 10

omnis eques concors, adjunctis quibusdam qui nuper apud Narniam dediti fortunam partium speculabantur. Capitur praefectus alae Julius Flavianus; ceteri foeda fuga consternantur, non ultra Fidenas secutis vic-
15 toribus.

80. Eo successu studia populi aucta; vulgus urbanum arma cepit. Paucis scuta militaria, plures, raptis quod cuique obvium telis, signum pugnae exposcunt: agit grates Vitellius et ad tuendam urbem prorumpere
5 jubet. Mox vocato senatu deliguntur legati ad exercitus, ut praetexto reipublicae concordiam pacemque suaderent. Varia legatorum sors fuit: qui Petilio Ceriali occurrerant, extremum discrimen adiere, aspernante milite condiciones pacis; vulneratur praetor
10 Arulenus Rusticus: auxit invidiam, super violatum legati praetorisque nomen, propria dignatio viri. Pulsantur comites, occiditur proximus lictor, dimovere turbam ausus: et ni dato a duce praesidio defensi forent, sacrum etiam inter exteras gentes legatorum
15 jus, ante ipsa patriae moenia, civilis rabies usque in exitium temerasset. Aequioribus animis accepti sunt qui ad Antonium venerant, non quia modestior miles, sed duci plus auctoritatis.

81. Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita Stoicorum aemulatus; coeptabatque permixtus manipulis, bona pacis ac belli discrimina disserens, armatos monere. Id
5 plerisque ludibrio, pluribus taedio: nec deerant qui propellerent proculcarentque, ni admonitu modestissimi cujusque et aliis minitantibus omisisset intempestivam sapientiam. Obviae fuere et virgines Vestales cum epistolis Vitellii ad Antonium scriptis: eximi supremo
10 certamini unum diem postulabat: si moram interjecis-

sent, facilius omnia conventura: virgines cum honore dimissae; Vitellio rescriptum Sabini caede et incendio Capitolii dirempta belli commercia.

82. Tentavit tamen Antonius vocatas ad concionem legiones mitigare, ut castris juxta pontem Mulvium positis postera die urbem ingrederentur. Ratio cunctandi, ne asperatus proelio miles non populo, non senatui, ne templis quidem ac delubris deorum consuleret; 5 sed omnem prolationem ut inimicam victoriae suspectabant; simul fulgentia per colles vexilla, quanquam imbellis populus sequeretur, speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant. Tripartito agmine, pars ut astiterat, Flaminia via, pars juxta ripam Tiberis incessit; tertium agmen 10 per Salariam Collinae portae propinquabat. Plebs invectis equitibus fusa; miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit. Proelia ante urbem multa et varia, sed Flavianis consilio ducum praestantibus saepius prospera. Ii tantum conflictati sunt, qui in partem 15 sinistram urbis ad Sallustianos hortos per angusta et lubrica viarum flexerant. Superstantes maceriis hortorum Vitelliani ad serum usque diem saxis pilisque subeuntes arcebant, donec ab equitibus, qui porta Collina irruperant, circumvenirentur. Concurrere et in 20 campo Martio infestae acies. Pro Flavianis fortuna et parta totiens victoria: Vitelliani desperatione sola ruebant; et quanquam pulsi, rursus in urbe congregabantur.

83. Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat. Quotiens pars altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis aut si quam in domum perfugerant, erui jugularique expostulantes parte majore praedae potiebantur: nam milite ad sanguinem et caedes obverso, 5

spolia in vulgus cedebant. Saeva ac deformis urbe tota facies: alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balineae popinaeque; simul cruor et strues corporum, juxta scorta et
10 scortis similes; quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire. Conflixerant *et* ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla, semel Cinna victoribus, nec tunc minus crudeli-
15 tatis: nunc inhumana securitas et ne minimo quidem temporis voluptates intermissae: velut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exsultabant, fruebantur, nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti.

84. Plurimum molis in oppugnatione castrorum fuit, quae acerrimus quisque ut novissimam spem retinebant. Eo intentius victores, praecipuo veterum cohortium studio, cuncta validissimarum urbium excidiis reperta
5 simul admovent, testudinem, tormenta, aggeres, facesque, quidquid tot proeliis laboris ac periculi hausissent, opere illo consummari clamitantes. Urbem senatui ac populo Romano, templa dis reddita: proprium esse militis decus in castris: illam patriam, illos penates: ni
10 statim recipiantur, noctem in armis agendam. Contra Vitelliani, quanquam numero fatoque dispares, inquietare victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore foedare, suprema victis solacia amplectebantur. Multi semianimes super turres et propugnacula moenium ex-
15 spiravere: convulsis portis reliquus globus obtulit se victoribus; et cecidere omnes contrariis vulneribus, versi in hostem: ea cura etiam morientibus decori exitus fuit.

Vitellius, capta urbe, per aversam Palatii partem Aventinum in domum uxoris sellula defertur, ut, si diem latebra vitavisset, Tarracinam ad cohortes fra-

tremque perfugeret. Dein mobilitate ingenii et, quae natura pavoris est, cum omnia metuenti praesentia 5 maxime displicerent, in Palatium regreditur vastum desertumque, dilapsis etiam infimis servitiorum aut occursum ejus declinantibus. Terret solitudo et tacentes loci; tentat clausa, inhorrescit vacuis; fessusque misero errore et pudenda latebra semet occultans ab 10 Julio Placido tribuno cohortis protrahitur. Vinctae pone tergum manus; laniata veste, foedum spectaculum, ducebatur, multis increpantibus, nullo illacrimante: deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat. Obvius e Germanicis militibus Vitellium infesto ictu 15 per iram, vel quo maturius ludibrio eximeret, an tribunum appetierit, in incerto fuit: aurem tribuni amputavit ac statim confossus est.

85. Vitellium infestis mucronibus coactum modo erigere os et offerre contumeliis, nunc cadentes statuas suas, plerumque rostra aut Galbae occisi locum contueri, postremo ad Gemonias, ubi corpus Flavii Sabini jacuerat, propulere: una vox non degeneris animi excepta, 5 cum tribuno insultanti se tamen imperatorem ejus fuisse respondit; ac deinde ingestis vulneribus concidit. Et vulgus eadem pravitate insectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem.

86. Patria illi Luceria: septimum et quinquagesimum aetatis annum explebat. Consulatum, sacerdotia, nomen locumque inter primores nulla sua industria, sed cuncta patris claritudine adeptus: principatum ei detulere qui ipsum non noverant: studia exercitus raro 5 cuiquam bonis artibus quaesita perinde adfuere quam huic per ignaviam. Inerat tamen simplicitas ac liberalitas, quae, ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur: amicitias dum magnitudine munerum, non constantia

10 morum contineri putat, meruit magis quam habuit. Reipublicae haud dubie intererat Vitellium vinci, sed imputare perfidiam non possunt, qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a Galba descivissent.

Praecipiti in occasum die ob pavorem magistratuum senatorumque, qui dilapsi ex urbe aut per domos clientium semet occultabant, vocari senatus non potuit. Domitianum, postquam nihil hostile metuebatur, ad
5 duces partium progressum et Caesarem consalutatum miles frequens, utque erat in armis, in paternos penates deduxit.

HISTORIARUM LIBER QUARTUS.

1. Interfecto Vitellio bellum magis desierat quam pax coeperat. Armati per urbem victores implacabili odio victos consectabantur: plenae caedibus viae, cruenta fora templaque, passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors
5 obtulerat. Ac mox augescente licentia scrutari ac protrahere abditos; si quem procerum habitu et juventa conspexerant, obtruncare, nullo militum aut populi discrimine: quae saevitia recentibus odiis sanguine explebatur, dein verterat in avaritiam. Nihil usquam
10 secretum aut clausum sinebant, Vitellianos occultari simulantes. Initium id perfringendarum domuum, vel si resisteretur, causa caedis; nec deerat egentissimus quisque e plebe et pessimi servitiorum prodere ultro dites dominos: alii ab amicis monstrabantur. Ubique

lamenta, conclamationes et fortunae captae urbis, adeo 15
ut Othoniani Vitellianique militis invidiosa antea petulantia desideraretur. Duces partium accendendo civili bello acres, temperandae victoriae impares: quippe in turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis, pax et quies bonis artibus indigent. 20

2. Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat. Praefectura praetorii penes Arrium Varum, summa potentiae in Primo Antonio. Is pecuniam familiamque e principis domo quasi Cre- 5
monensem praedam rapere: ceteri modestia vel ignobilitate ut in bello obscuri, ita praemiorum expertes. Civitas pavida et servitio parata occupari redeuntem Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus extinguique reliqua belli postulabat: praemissi Ariciam equites, ag- 10
men legionum intra Bovillas stetit. Nec cunctatus est Vitellius seque et cohortes arbitrio victoris permittere, et miles infelicia arma haud minus ira quam metu abjecit. Longus deditorum ordo, septus armatis, per urbem incessit, nemo supplici vultu, sed tristes et tru- 15
ces et adversum plausus ac lasciviam insultantis vulgi immobiles. Paucos erumpere ausos circumjecti oppressere; ceteri in custodiam conditi, nihil quisquam locutus indignum, et quanquam inter adversa, salva virtutis fama. Dein L. Vitellius interficitur, par vitiis fratris, 20
in principatu ejus vigilantior, nec perinde prosperis socius quam adversis abstractus.

3. Isdem diebus Lucilius Bassus cum expedito equite ad componendam Campaniam mittitur, discordibus municipiorum animis magis inter semet, quam contumacia adversus principem. Viso milite quies et minoribus coloniis impunitas: Capuae legio tertia hiemandi 5

causa locatur et domus illustres afflictae, cum contra Tarracinenses nulla ope juvarentur: tanto proclivius est injuriae quam beneficio vicem exsolvere, quia gratia oneri, ultio in quaestu habetur. Solacio fuit servus
10 Verginii Capitonis, quem proditorem Tarracinensium diximus, patibulo affixus in isdem anulis quos acceptos a Vitellio gestabat. At Romae senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit, laetus et spei certus, quippe sumpta per Gallias Hispaniasque civilia arma,
15 motis ad bellum Germaniis, mox Illyrico, postquam Aegyptum Judaeam Syriamque et omnis provincias exercitusque lustraverant, velut expiato terrarum orbe cepisse finem videbantur; addidere alacritatem Vespasiani literae, tanquam manente bello scriptae: ea prima
20 specie forma; ceterum ut princeps loquebatur, civilia de se et reipublicae egregia: nec senatus obsequium deerat. Ipsi consulatus cum Tito filio, praetura Domitiano et consulare imperium decernuntur.

11. Tali rerum statu, cum discordia inter patres, ira apud victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non princeps in civitate essent, Mucianus urbem ingressus cuncta simul in se traxit. Fracta Primi Antonii
5 Varique Arrii potentia, male dissimulata in eos Muciani iracundia, quamvis vultu tegeretur. Sed civitas rimandis offensis sagax verterat se transtuleratque: ille unus ambiri, coli; nec deerat ipse, stipatus armatis, domos hortosque permutans, apparatu, incessu excubiis
10 vim principis amplecti, nomen remittere. Plurimum terroris intulit caedes Calpurnii Galeriani. Is fuit filius Cai Pisonis, nihil ausus: sed nomen insigne et decora ipsius juventa rumore vulgi celebrabantur, erantque in civitate, adhuc turbida et novis sermonibus laeta,
15 qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdarent. Jussu Muciani custodia militari cinctus, ne in ipsa urbe con-

spectior mors foret, ad quadragesimum an urbe lapidem Appia via fuso per venas sanguine extinguitur. Julius Priscus praetoriarum sub Vitellio cohortium praefectus se ipse interfecit, pudore magis quam necessitate. Alfenus Varus ignaviae infamiaeque suae superfuit. Asiaticus (is enim libertus) malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit.

12. Isdem diebus crebrescentem cladis Germanicae famam nequaquam maesta civitas excipiebat; caesos exercitus, capta legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias, non ut mala loquebantur. Id bellum quibus causis ortum, quanto externarum sociarumque gentium motu flagraverit, altius expediam. Batavi, donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars Chattorum, seditione domestica pulsi extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus, simulque insulam juxta sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit. Nec opibus Romanis, societate validiorum, attriti, viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant, diu Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta per Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. Erat et domi delectus eques, praecipuo nandi studio; arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere.

13. Julius Paulus et Julius Civilis, regia stirpe, multo ceteros antiebant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit; injectae Civili catenae, missusque ad Neronem et a Galba absolutus, sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium ejus exercitu: inde causae irarum spesque ex malis nostris. Sed Civilis, ultra quam barbaris solitum, ingenio sollers, et Sertorium se aut Annibalem ferens simili oris dehonestamento, ne ut hosti obviam iretur, si a populo Romano palam descivisset, Vespasiani amicitiam stu-

diumque partium praetendit, missis sane ad eum Primi Antonii literis, quibus avertere accita a Vitellio auxilia et tumultus Germanici specie retentare legiones jubebatur. Eadem Hordeonius Flaccus praesens monuerat, inclinato in Vespasianum animo, et reipublicae cura, cui excidium adventabat, si redintegratum bellum, et tot armatorum milia Italiam irrupissent.

62. Legio sexta decuma, cum auxiliis simul deditis, a Novaesio in coloniam Treverorum transgredi jubetur, praefinita die intra quam castris excederet. Medium omne tempus per varias curas egere, ignavissimus quisque caesorum apud Vetera exemplo paventes, melior pars rubore et infamia: quale illud iter? quis dux viae? et omnia in arbitrio eorum quos vitae necisque dominos fecissent. Alii nulla dedecoris cura pecuniam aut carissima sibimet ipsi circumdare; quidam expedire arma telisque tanquam in aciem accingi. Haec meditantibus advenit proficiscendi hora, expectatione tristior; quippe intra vallum deformitas haud perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam campus et dies: revulsae imperatorum imagines, indecora signa, fulgentibus hinc inde Gallorum vexillis; silens agmen et velut longae exsequiae; dux Claudius Sanctus effosso oculo dirus ore, ingenio debilior. Duplicatur flagitium, postquam desertis Bonnensibus castris altera se legio miscuerat. Et vulgata captarum legionum fama cuncti, qui paulo ante Romanorum nomen horrebant, procurrentes ex agris tectisque et undique effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. Non tulit ala Picentina gaudium insultantis vulgi, spretisque Sancti promissis aut minis, Mogontiacum abeunt; ac forte obvio interfectore Voculae Longino, conjectis in eum telis initium exsolvendae in posterum culpae fecere: legiones nihil mutato itinere ante moenia Treverorum considunt.

EXCERPTA VITAE AGRICOLAE.

2. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse; neque in ipsos modo auctores sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in 5 comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedi- 10 mus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio: memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potes- 15 tate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

3. Nunc demum redit animus: sed quanquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius 5 voti fiduciam ac robur assumserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et 10 invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia prin-

cipis interciderunt, pauci, ut sic dixerim, non modo
15 aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e
media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem,
senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus.

4. Gnaeus Julius Agricola, vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem
Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater
Julius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae
5 sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Cai
Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare jussus
et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla
fuit, rarae castitatis: in hujus sinu indulgentiaque
educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueri-
10 tiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab
illecebris pecantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque
naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram
studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et
provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum.
15 Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in
juventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia
matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.
Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem
20 ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius
quam caute appetebat: mox mitigavit ratio et aetas,
retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

5. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio
Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus
quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter,
more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque
5 segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus
et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci

exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: tru- 10 cidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni, intravitque 15 animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala. Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne 20 laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

18. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites, velut omissa expeditione, ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum ejus alam in finibus suis 5 agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quanquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius 10 anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par 15 animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque

prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, *a* cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum re-
20 bellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in subitis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et proprius nandi usus, quo simul seque
25 et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingre-
30 dienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset.

19. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coer-
5 cuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve adscire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia
10 exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius poenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate mune-
15 rum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur.

29. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus,

anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae 5 pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem 10 aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti periculum commune concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatium vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juventus et quibus cruda ac viridis 15 senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur.

30. 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum imminente 5 nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in 10 ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus Britan- 15

prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, *a* cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum re-
20 bellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in subitis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et proprius nandi usus, quo simul seque
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15 rum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur.

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niae patet, nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, jam
20 et mare scrutantur; si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem
25 appellant.'

31. 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: conjuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluun-
5 tur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam
10 quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reser-
15 vemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere colo-
20 niam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in patientiam bellaturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'

32. 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam, adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dis- 5 solvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere 10 desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos conjuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, locorum trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, 15 ignota omnia circum spectantes, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod nec tegit nec vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. Agnoscent Britanni suam causam, recorda- 20 buntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi 25 tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

36. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec

5 Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone com-
10 plexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo astiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique
15 semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae fugere, covinarii peditum se proelio miscuere: et quanquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque aequa nos-
20 tris jam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equi-
5 tum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem inva-
10 sere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti

offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, † item primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus.

38. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia [aliqua], deinde separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari: satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tanquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, deserti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum (et exacta jam aestate spargi bellum nequibat), in finis Borestorum exercitum deducit.

44. Natus erat Agricola Caio Caesare tertium consule idibus Juniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo

anno, decumo Kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri nos-
5 cere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus in vultu: gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quanquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit; quippe et vera
10 bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito, quid aliud astruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosae contigerant. Filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente
15 fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis, futura effugisse. Nam sicuti * * durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Trajanum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tem-
20 pus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rempublicam exhausit.

45. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam, et clausum armis senatum, et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Alba-
5 nam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius [jam] tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos jussitque scelera, non
10 spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate 15
sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui
interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et
libens fatum excepisti, tanquam pro virili portione in-
nocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque ejus,
praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget maestitiam, 20
quod assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari
vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe
mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus.
Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae ab-
sentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Om- 25
nia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima
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20 pus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rempublicam exhausit.

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animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, *in* fama
20 rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobiles oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

EXCERPTA DIALOGI DE ORATORIBUS.

5. Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem, qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero
5 et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? cujus vis et utilitas rebus prospere fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intelligitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in
10 acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo propugnare pariter et incessere sive in judicio, sive in senatu, sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam op-
15 posuit? qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem, sed inexercitatam et ejus modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

6. Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cujus jucunditas non uno aliquo momento, sed omni-

bus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato, quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum? idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicujus administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari? Ipsos quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad juvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent. Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius urbis gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes, id quod optimum sit se non habere? jam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus! quae in publico species! quae in judiciis veneratio! quod gaudium consurgendi assistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos! coire populum et circumfundi coronam et accipere affectum quemcunque orator induerit! vulgaria dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota majora sunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua jucunditas est; nam *in* ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quanquam † alia diu serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

21. Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est, in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor

5 commendat. Nolo Corvinum insequi, quia nec per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret, et videmus, in quantum judicio ejus vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

22. Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis oratores aetatis
5 ejusdem praecurrit quam judicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis dilectum adhibuit et compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas jam senior et juxta finem vitae composuit, id est,
10 postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores ejus orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit;
15 pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur: nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum
20 volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu ejus et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul
25 arceantur ut jam obliterata et olentia: nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo
30 determinet.

31. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator, qui de 5 omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere, pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intelligebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis de- 10 clamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent, in quibus de bonis ac malis, de honesto et turpi, de justo et injusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subjecta ad 15 dicendum materia. Nam in judiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus *de utilitate, in laudationibus* de honestate disserimus, ita tamen ut plerumque haec in vicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam huma- 20 nam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum, et *habet* intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram judicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit quid *sit* ira, promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui scit 25 quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum, et prout cujusque 30 natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos astrictum et collectum et

singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus
35 plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequabilis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos jam locos. Dabunt
40 Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon jucunditatem: ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas exclamationes assumere, iisque prout res poscit uti, alienum erit oratori. Neque enim sapientem informamus nec Stoicarum civitatem, sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet.

36. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit. Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea
5 consecuti sunt, quae composita et quieta et beata republica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi assequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet quantum erranti populo persuadere
10 poterat. Hinc leges assiduae et populare nomen, hinc conciones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et assignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et assidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae
15 singula etsi distrahebant rempublicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores assequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat,
20 tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat.

Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur; hi ne privati quidem sine potestate 25 erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent.

37. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et illustrem orationem efficere potest, nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes illustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. 5 Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt: non quia tanti fuit reipublicae malos ferre cives, ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis memi- 10 nerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui, quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit. Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt: similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit 15 tanquam in acie, quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit, quoque majores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est, ut * * secura velint. 20

SENTENTIAE TACITIANAE.

1. Jus apud cives, modestiam apud socios (Ann. 1: 9).
2. Denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari (Ann. 1 : 17).
3. An praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse? (Ann. 1: 26).
4. Nihil in vulgo modicum, terrere ni paveant (Ann. 1 : 29).
5. Quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae (Ann. 1: 33).
6. Seu nihil militi, sive omnia concederentur (Ann. 1: 36).
7. Aequis locis aequos deos (Ann. 1 : 68).
8. Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant (Ann. 1: 72).
9. Quae pauci incipiant reliquos astrepere (Ann. 2: 12).
10. Principes mortales, rempublicam aeternam (Ann. 3: 6).
11. Excitari quosdam ad meliora magnitudine rerum, hebescere alios (Ann. 3: 69).
12. Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat (Ann. 6 : 5).
13. Ambitionem scriptoris facile adverseris, obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur (H. 1: 1).
14. Inviso semel principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt (H. 1: 7).
15. Secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur (H. 1: 15).
16. Nihil in vultu habituque mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet (H. 1: 17).
17. Facili civitate ad accipienda credendaque omnia nova, cum tristia sunt (H. 1: 19).
18. Cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi (H. 1: 22).
19. Falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis imponit (1 : 30).
20. Nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quaesitum, bonis artibus exercuit (H. 1: 30).
21. Scelera impetu, bona consilia mora valescere (H. 1: 32).
22. Proinde intuta quae indecora (H. 1 : 33).
23. Utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus, optima videntur quorum tempus effugerat (H. 1: 39).

24. Non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est (H. 1: 40).

25. Quanto magis falsa erant quae fiebant, tanto plura facere (H. 1: 45).

26. Magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus (H. 1: 40).

27. Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset (H. 1: 49).

28. Insita mortalibus natura propere sequi quae piget inchoare (H. 1: 55).

29. Quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant omnes fuere (H. 1: 56).

30. Claudius Cossus dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans, atque eo validior (H. 1: 69).

31. Genus ipsum orandi ad implendas aures latum et sonans (H. 1: 90).

32. More vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes (H. 2: 44).

33. Imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia (H. 2: 74).

34. Satis clarus est apud timentem quisquis timetur (H. 2: 76).

35. Nam qui deliberant desciverunt (H. 2: 77).

36. Nec unquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est (H. 2: 92).

37. Tanquam nimius pavor conscientiam argueret (3: 10).

38. Factum esse scelus loquuntur, faciuntque (3: 25).

39. Prohibiti per civitatem sermones, eoque plures (H. 3: 54).

40. Sed quod in ejusmodi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpsere (H. 3: 69).

41. Quod in perditis rebus accidit, omnes praecipere, nemo exsequi (H. 3: 73).

42. Neque alienis consiliis regi, neque sua expedire (H. 3: 73).

43. Bellum magis desierat quam pax coeperat (H. 4: 1).

44. In turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis; pax et quies bonis artibus indigent (H. 4: 1).

45. Scelera ostendi oportet dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi (Germ. 12).

46. Nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur (Germ. 43).

47. Adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur (Ag. 1).

48. Ut corpora lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris (Ag. 3).

49. Gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit (Ag. 6).

50. Haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit (Ag. 9).

51. Ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit (Ag. 18).

52. Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare (Ag. 19).

53. Iniquissima haec bellorum conditio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur (Ag. 27).

54. Omne ignotum pro magnifico est (Ag. 30).

55. Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant (Ag. 30).

56. Qui timere desierint, odisse incipient (Ag. 32).

57. Pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes (Ag. 41).

58. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem laeseris (Ag. 42).

59. Nullo credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret (Ag. 43).

60. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter (Ag. 44).

61. Ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna (Ag. 46).

62. Is est orator, qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere possit (Dial. de Orat. 31).

NOTES.

ANNALS, BOOK I.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE. — Annals are a brief history by years. There is little anticipation or retrospection in annals; while in history the past, the present, and the future are all blended into a single picture to represent a period. At the beginning of each new year in the Annals, Tacitus names the consuls, and then relates the wars, the foreign proceedings, the acts of the Senate and of the Emperor during the year. In his History, too, he names the consuls, but mingles with present events anticipations of the future — as in regard to the approaching accession and glory of the Flavian Dynasty — and illustrations from the past. From this it follows that history is a more elaborate and artistic work than annals, which holds true of the History and Annals of Tacitus; though in places the style is more highly wrought and *artificial* in the Annals than in the History. There were originally sixteen books of the Annals, giving the history of the downfall of the Julian Dynasty, through Tiberius, Caius (Caligula), Claudius, and Nero. Of these books, the first six, containing the history of the reign of Tiberius, are entire, with the exception of the fifth. Then follows a gap to the eleventh book; and after this most of the books are quite incomplete, large parts of some of them having been lost. The Annals seem to have been published about A.D. 116, the latest of his works.

SEC. 1. **Libertatem et consulatum**], i.e. the Republic, which was established by banishing the royal family of Tarquins, in B.C. 510. — **ad tempus**], "for the occasion," "as occasions arose," i.e. temporarily on extraordinary occasions; usually, as stated by Orelli, not for a longer time than six months. — **decemviralis potestas**],

i.e. the commission of ten men appointed to prepare the Twelve Tables of the laws, and who had absolute governmental powers granted them for two years (303 and 304 after the founding of the city, B.C. 451, 450). During the few months beyond this time in which they exercised these powers, they maintained themselves by force. — **tribunorum . . . jus**]. Military tribunes with consular authority held the government, by appointment from year to year, nearly every year from A.U. 310 to 388; B.C. 444–366. — **non Cinnae, etc.**]. Cinna was consul for four years in succession, from B. C. 87–84 inclusive, and Sulla was dictator for the same number of years, from B.C. 82–79. These repeated elections for so long a period were considered irregular, and were carried by overawing influences. — **et Pompei . . . cessere**]. The reference here is to the two triumvirate governments, the first of Julius Cæsar, with Pompey and Crassus, and the second of Augustus Cæsar, with Lepidus and Antony. In both cases, the power soon fell into the hands of the Cæsar; in the first case, by the crushing defeat of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, in Thrace (B.C. 48); and, in the second case, by the equally crushing defeat of Antony at the battle of Actium, on the coast of Epirus (B.C. 31). — **nomine principis**]. This was to avoid the odium attached to the names *king* and *dictator*. Henceforth *principatus* and *principium* were used as equivalent to *imperium*. — **veteris populi Romani**], i.e. during the republic till the battle of Actium, and the accession of Augustus to the principate (see H. 1: 7). — **claris scriptoribus**]. In the dat. instead of the abl. with *ab*, as often in Tacitus (see M. 250). — **temporibus . . . dicendis**], "for giving a history of the times," dat. of the end governed by *defuere* (see H. 3, 54). — **deterrerentur**]. First-rate writers will not stoop to flattery; hence when flattery is in vogue, and it would be dangerous not to use it, they cease to write. For the subj. with *donec* (until), see Intr. 91; H. 521; A. & G. 180. *d.* — **Caique . . . et . . . ac**]. The order of these conjunctions (que, et, ac) is interchangeable in different cases (Intr. 63). — **recentibus odiis**], "with animosities still fresh." — **et extrema**], "and these the last." Hence *et* here is explicative. — **et cetera**], i.e. other matters to the death of Nero, the beginning of his History, which had been already published. — **studio**], "partisan zeal," "adulation."

2. **Postquam . . . mallent**]. *Postquam* determines the construction as far as *reliquus*, after which word a personal pronoun referring to Cæsar (with which *ferens* agrees) is to be supplied, as the subject

of the historical infinitives *insurgere* and *trahere*, and to be repeated in the intermediate clause as the subject of *pellexit;* the last clauses being controlled by the causal *cum* (quum), followed as usual by the subj. (H. 517; A. & G. 180, e.) It will be observed here that conjunctions and forms of *esse* are sparingly expressed, which is usual with Tacitus (Intr. 20; 71). The Cæsar here referred to was Caius Octavianus Cæsar, afterwards known as Augustus (the great). He pursued and overcame Brutus and Cassius, the murderers of his uncle Julius Cæsar, at Philippi (B.C. 42); then crushed out Sextus Pompey (son of Pompey the great), in a sea-fight off Sicily (B.C. 36), while he set aside Lepidus from the triumvirate (*exuto*), and finally subdued Antony, the remaining triumvir, at Actium, which left him sole ruler of the empire. As consul and tribune, he had the power of assembling the senate and the people and of the *veto*, and gradually assumed all governmental powers (munia senatus magistratuum legum), retaining, however, the popular forms and designations of public functionaries, as under the republic. By the distribution of corn (annona) among the common people, — either gratuitously or at a small price, — and the other means here referred to, he quieted the different classes at Rome; while, as the author goes on to say in the following sentence, the provinces gladly accepted, in place of the factious government of the senate and people, that of a single hand strong enough to quell the factious elements and enforce the laws against their violence, intrigue, and bribery (vi, ambitu, pecunia). It will be observed that, strictly, *eo magis* is required before *opibus;* but it is often omitted by Tacitus (Intr. 97).

We have in this section an admirable statement of the conditions favorable to the establishment of an absolute government. At the same time, the section is in striking contrast with the preceding one, by the comprehensiveness, and indeed the complexity, of its sentences; while there the statements are of the simplest and most transparent character.

3. **Subsidia dominationi**], "as aids to his supremacy." The dat. of advantage depending upon a noun is quite common in Tacitus (Intr. 32). The aids here referred to were Marcellus (son of his sister Octavia), Agrippa, Tiberius, and Drusus. He promoted (extulit) Marcellus to this position by making him pontifex and curule edile (i.e., superintendent of streets, temples, buildings, public works, and games); Agrippa, by granting him the consulship for two successive years (geminatus), and afterwards making him his son-in-law;

and Tiberius and Drusus he advanced (auxit) by granting them the dignity of *imperator;* which title, though formerly allowed to many successful commanders, was soon allowed to none but members of the Julian family, and finally was confined to the ruling emperor alone. — **Victoriae socium**]. Agrippa was the trusted general of Augustus in all his wars, as Mæcenas was his confidential adviser in the organization and conduct of his government of the state. After the death of his nephew Marcellus (in his seventeenth year), Agrippa married his daughter Julia (his only child, and by his first wife), who had previously been betrothed to Marcellus; and who, after the death of Agrippa (B.C. 12), became the wife of the emperor Tiberius. — **privignos.**] These were the sons of Livia (the second wife of Augustus) by her former husband, T. Claudius Nero, whence the names Claudius and Nero were introduced into the Julian family. — **specie . . . cupiverat**], "with a show of refusing, he had greatly desired;" viz., that they should be called *princes of the youth,* and appointed (destinari) consuls. In the time of Augustus, *princes of the youth* were heirs to the throne, though previously the sons of distinguished men received this appellation. — **Armenia**], "from Armenia." The abl. as though it was the name of a city (Intr. 34). — **illuc . . . vergere**], "all things tended to him." The historical infin. (with its subject in the nominative) is much used by Tacitus instead of the imperfect tense; sometimes even after *quum, ut, ubi, postquam,* in subordinate sentences (Intr. 92; M 392). Expressing pure action, without limitation or qualification, it is especially adapted to vivid and rapid narration. How all things tended to Nero (i.e. Tiberius Nero) is described in what immediately follows. — **omnis . . . exercitus**]. The ending *-is* for *-es,* in most nouns, adjectives, and participles, is the common ending in Tacitus. — **Planasiam**]. A small island between Corsica and the mainland. Postumus was born after the death of his father Agrippa (which occurred B.C. 12), and hence was the only grandson of Augustus at this time, Caius and Lucius (the other sons of Agrippa) having died some ten years after their father. He seems to have been rude and violent rather than vicious. — **hercule**]. A form of asseveration quite common in Tacitus, indicative of surprise or indignation at something. — **filius juvenis.**] This was a son of Tiberius by his first wife, named Drusus, after his brother Drusus (who died B.C. 9), the father of Germanicus, and who after a brilliant career was poisoned by Sejanus. As Tiberius, by the direction of Augustus,

adopted Germanicus as his successor, he became, by this adoption, brother of his cousin Drusus, and is often spoken of as such, and as son of his uncle Tiberius. — **abolendae magis infamiae**]. A gen. with the gerundive, seeming to imply *causa* for its government, but regarded by Draeger as a *causal gen.*; a usage borrowed from the Greek (Intr. 108). — **dignum ob premium**]. This displacement of the preposition is very common in Tacitus, and is called *anastrophe* (Intr. 116). — **juniores**]. These were persons between the ages of eighteen and forty-six (also called, *juvenes* and *adolescentes*); while those between forty-six and sixty were called *seniores* or *veteres*. Boys also were called *pueri minores* when under fourteen, and *pueri majores* when between fourteen and eighteen years of age. — **quotus quisque**], "how few individuals."

4. **Moris**]. The partitive gen. is much used by Tacitus, whether depending upon pronouns, nouns, or the substantive verb *esse;* and *moris* especially is thus used by him, as: malique moris, sec. 33; ut moris est (Hist. 1, 15). — **seque et**]. See Intr. 65, *b*. — **aegro et corpore**]. Et = "also," the order of the words is poetic. (Draeger). — **differebant**], "were making known," "discussing," "disparaging." A post-classical meaning of the word, not uncommon in Tacitus (see 4 : 25). — **Agrippam**], i.e. Agrippa Postumus. He was about twenty-five years of age at that time. — **maturum annis**]. He was fifty-six years of age. — **insita . . . superbia**]. From the earliest times, the Claudii were noted for their pride and contempt for the common people. The emperor's full name was Tiberius Claudius Nero. — **indicia saevitiae**]. Tiberius was distinguished for his sullen secretiveness and cruelty. His retiring to Rhodes (for eight years) before his accession to the principate, and to Campania and the island of Capriæ during the last eleven years of his reign, was in consequence of his dark, misanthropic, and moody disposition.— **feminae duobusque insuper adolescentibus**], i.e. Livia, the mother of Tiberius ("of feminine violence," *muliebri impotentia*), and Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and his adopted son (really his nephew) Germanicus. Livia seems to have been a regular Jezebel. — **quandoque distrahant**], "and some day may distract it." The subj. depends upon *qui* (such as may). H. 501; M. 364; A. & G. 182, 1.

5. **agitantibus**], "while they were agitating." Perhaps an abl. absolute with an indefinite subject, but more probably a dat. of the person interested (see H. 3, 71, note; Int. 31, *b*). — **gnarum id Caesari**]. *Gnarum* has a passive meaning here like *notus:* in some

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other places, it has an active meaning (knowing), as: gnarus sub Nerone temporum (Agric. 6). *Caesari* here refers to Augustus.— **dubium . . . morte**]. Implies a suspicion that he may have been put to death by Livia, on account of his privity to the supposed purpose of Augustus to restore Agrippa Postumus to favor and to the empire. Such parenthetical clauses, with *dubium, incertum,* etc., are quite common in Tacitus (Intr. 75). Augustus died A.D. 14. These first five sections are introductory, and how full of interest and wisdom!

11. **Versae . . . preces**]. The senate, having paid proper funeral honors to Augustus, now go through the farce of entreating Tiberius to assume the duties of the government. — **ab illo**], i.e. by Augustus. — **sua modestia**], "his own moderate ability," "humble aspirations" (see H. 3 : 70). — **subjectum fortunae**], "dependent on fortune." — **quam fidei**], "than of sincerity." We have here an admirable description of the dark, dissimulating ways of Tiberius, using words to conceal his thoughts. — **si viderentur**], i.e. Tiberii simulationem (Orelli). Hence they fell to entreating and imploring him, as though they thought he was sincere. — **effigiem Augusti**]. This was in the senate chamber (see 2 : 37). — **opes publicae continebantur**], "the public resources were contained in it," i.e. in the *libellum,* which he finally allowed to be produced. This was a breviary of the empire and its resources, which had been left by Augustus. — **regna**], i.e. kingdoms subject to Roman power, but not yet governed as provinces. — **tributa . . . vectigalia**]. The former were direct taxes, the latter indirect taxes. — **necessitates ac largitiones**], i.e. the necessary expenses of the government, and gifts for the people and soldiers. — **terminos imperii**]. These boundaries were the Euphrates, the Ister (or Danube), the Rhine, and the Ocean. — **metu an per invidiam**], "whether from fear or through envy." Notice the change from the abl. to *per* with acc. for variety (Intr. 60).

15. **Comitia**], i.e. the election of magistrates, referring here especially to the election of pretors. These elections up to this time (A.D. 14) had been made by the people in the Campus Martius; now, at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, they were transferred to the senate. But, as Draeger says, even while the elections were in the Campus Martius, Augustus had the right of nomination, which virtually determined the choice. — **studiis tribuum**], "according to the wishes of the tribes," i.e. the people meeting as *tribes*, this clas-

sification having superseded that by *centuries* (see Dic. Antiq. p. 1008). — **exsolutus**], "freed from." In their more popular form, the elections had been attended by bribery and solicitations of various kinds, from which the senate chamber was comparatively free; hence the people more readily acquiesced in the change. — **moderante**], "regulating," "arranging," "agreeing." — **sine . . . designandos**], "to be elected without repulse and solicitation," i.e. without opposition on the part of the senate, or further demands on his part. The emperor thus had the absolute choice of four out of the twelve pretors (the manner of whose election is here under discussion), and the nomination, and hence virtually the election of the others; as he did also of the consuls and the other public functionaries. — **triumphali vesta**], i.e. the *toga picta* (purple mixed with gold), such as the consuls and pretors wore when they exhibited the games in the Circus Maximus. This sentence, introduced by *ut*, serves as a substitute for a noun corresponding to *pecunia* (see Intr. 119, 12). They were not allowed to pay the expenses, as this looked like a bid for popular favor. — **annua . . . inter cives**], i.e. the *praetor peregrinus* for the year.

16. **ostendebat**], "showed," "promised." — **ob justitium aut gaudium**], i.e. because they thought themselves justly relieved from service by the death of the old prince, or else from joy at the accession of a new prince. *Aut* ("or else") expresses an absolute disjunction between things which mutually exclude each other, so that only one of them can be taken; while *vel* ("or if you wish," from *velle*) presents an alternative between things which do not necessarily exclude each other, and hence allow an option. — **theatralium operarum**], "of the theatrical factions," i.e. factions devoted to sustaining certain actors by applause and hissing their rivals. They often occasioned great disturbance at the theatres, and had to be restrained by severe laws (see 77, and 9: 13). — **et quaenam**] *foret* (in the subj. in an indirect question) is omitted here (Intr. 20).

17. **Paucioribus tribunis**]. There were sixty centurions and six tribunes to a legion, which when full contained sixty centuries (originally hundreds=6000), thirty maniples (of two hundred men each), and ten cohorts (originally of six hundred men each). But before the time of Marius, the term *cohort* was little used except of auxiliary troops (and indeed is generally so used by Tacitus); and the maniple consisted of only sixty soldiers, constituting a division in each of the three lines of the legion (*hastati, principes, triarii*), which

gradually disappeared after the time of Marius, the army being drawn up in lines by cohorts. See *army*, in Smith's Dic. Antiq.—**stipendia**], "pay for military service," "term of military service." The speaker exaggerates the term of service, which at different times and in different kinds of service varied from sixteen to twenty years; after which, soldiers were enrolled as veterans, and retained (as said below) under a *vexillum*, to serve only on extraordinary occasions (H. 2: 83).—**per nomen . . . montium**]. Referring to the lands assigned to discharged soldiers, usually on the frontiers. *Paludum* and *montium* are appositional genitives, governed each by the word preceding it (Intr. 40, *b*).—**saevitiam . . . redimi**]. The reference here is to the purchase of furloughs or exemptions from service (munerum). See the abuse more fully described, H. 1: 46.—**sempiterna**]. In the neuter, as the nouns to which it refers are of different genders and designate inanimate objects. The author seems to be almost pleading their cause for them.—**si certis . . . iniretur**]. The only conditions, he says, which would bring them any relief were that they should receive a denary (at that time sixteen ases, i.e. about a shilling) a day, and be wholly released from service at the end of sixteen years, and receive a bounty in money.—**praetorias cohortes**]. The imperial guard, at this time nine cohorts of a thousand in each; increased by Vitellius to sixteen cohorts (H. 2: 93). Their camp was established by Sejanus just outside of the city walls (A. 4: 1).

18. **Diversis incitamentis**], "from various incitements;" which the author proceeds to state. For *hi—illi—plurimi*, see Intr. 72.—**depulsi aemulatione**], i.e. from merging their three legions into one; since each legion wanted to be the principal one and to absorb the others, rather than be absorbed. To prevent this difficulty, each seems to have retained its separate organization, but to have proceeded to prepare a separate place (*alio*), with a tribunal to speak from, where they placed their standards together, and were to meet for consultation. Each legion had an eagle, and each cohort had three standards (*signa*), one for each of its three maniples of two hundred men (see sec. 34).—**properantibus**]. For the government, see Intr. 31.—**poenitentiam accelerabo**]. His death, by their hands, would hasten their repentance.

19. **Pectori**], dat. expressing the limit with *accressere*, instead of the acc. with *ad* (like: incessit itineri, sec. 51). This saves the use of one word, for which purpose, apparently, Tacitus, who always

affects the greatest brevity, uses the dat. more frequently than most Latin writers, to express an end or advantage, as: locum foederi accepit (Ann. 12: 46); so especially with *obtentui*, *venatui*, *ostentui*, and other nouns of the fourth declension (see Intr. 31).—**pervicacia**], i.e. of Blesus.—**multa dicendi arte**], "a man of great art in speaking" (see Intr. 38).—**tam nova**], "so new, unusual things."—**seque coram**], "and in their own presence," i.e. for themselves, on the spot. *Coram*, as well as other prepositions, is often placed thus after its noun by Tacitus, by what is called *anastrophe* (Intr. 117).—**ab sedecim annis**], "after sixteen years' service."—**orator publicae causae**], "having become the advocate of the cause of the soldiers."—**provenissent**] = prospere successissent (Draeger).

20. **Nauportum**]. A town in upper Pannonia. It was a free town, enjoying the rights of Roman citizenship (municipium).—**Vexilla convellunt**]. As these were detachments of soldiers (manipuli) sent out for a particular service (to repair bridges, &c.), the *vexillum* was their proper standard. For the order of the clauses in this period, see Intr. 118.—**retinentis**]. Agrees with *centuriones*, ending *-is* for *-es* ("the centurions restraining them").—**praecipua . . . ira**], "with special indignation," &c. The prefect of the camp corresponded to our quartermaster-general.—**vehiculo**], i.e. from the carriage in which he was riding.—**intentus . . . toleraverat**], "zealous of military works and labors, and on this account the more rigid, because he had endured them himself!" The old editions have *vetus* here, instead of *intentus*.

21. **Parebatur**], "obedience was rendered to;" as in arresting and confining these disorderly soldiers.—**ciere**]. Historical infin. With *nomina* it means "to call," but with the other accusatives it means "to incite," "appeal to." By what is called *zeugma*, Tacitus often strains the meaning of a word thus, to save the use of several (see Intr. 121). Notice, too, the omission of copulative conjunctions, so common with him.—**nihil reliqui faciunt**], "they make nothing of a remainder," "they leave nothing undone." *Reliqui* is a partitive gen. depending on *nihil* (M. 285, Ob. 2). For the adversative meaning of the following *quo minus*, see Intr. 99.—**invidiam**]. The prevalent meaning of this word is "odium," "hatred."—**desertoresque**]. These came to them from the general jail delivery which they had just made.

22. **Seditioni duces**], "leaders to the sedition." Dat. for the gen. (see sec. 3 and 24).—**quid pararet**], "what he might prepare,"

"propose." This is an indirect question depending on *intentos* ("anxious to hear"); hence the subj. (H. 525; A. and G. 190, 2). — **lucem reddidistis**]. This they had done by liberating them from prison. — **jugulavit**], "he murdered," pointing probably to Blaesus, whom he immediately addresses in the second person. — **gladiatores**]. These were kept by the governors of provinces and by generals in camp for gladiatorial shows (Orelli). — **ne . . . invident**], "not even enemies deny burial to one." This is one of the several constructions of *invidere,* a dat. of the person being understood, with the abl. denoting that in regard to which or on account of which he was not envied (see Germania, sec. 33). But Cicero always says: aliquid alicui invidere (see Intr. 39; M. 261; 244). — **Dum . . . sepeliant**], "if only these may bury us slain," &c. The subj. is always connected with *dum* in this sense (H. 503: A. and G. 175, 3).

23. **Incendebat . . . fletu**], "he inflamed (enhanced) these things by weeping." *Verberans* corresponds to *fletu* (see Intr. 119, 5) — **Praeceps . . . advolutus**], "rushing down and throwing himself at the feet of each one," i.e. as a suppliant. — **ceteram ejusdem familiam**], "the remainder of his family servants," i.e. besides the gladiators. — **neque . . . pernotuisset**], "and it had not been well known that he had no brother." The negative properly belongs to *unquam* (ne . . . unquam = nunquam). — **haud . . . aberant**], "they were not far from killing the general" (and would have killed him, *unless*, &c.) A thought is often thus suppressed in connection with the conjunction *ni;* but the principal sentence, which here follows the subordinate sentence with *ni,* usually precedes it (see below, and sec. 35). — **cedo**]. This is an old imperative, meaning "give me." In militia cives Romani verberabantur vitibus, ceteri fustibus (Orel.). — **quin**], i.e. *qui* (old abl.) *ne,* "why not?" "indeed," "nay, more." — **dum . . . tuentur**], "while that (viz. the eighth legion) demands a centurion, Serpicus by name, for death (and) the soldiers of the fifteenth defend him." They almost came to blows (ferrum parabant), *and would* unless, &c.; literally, "they were coming to blows," the indic. being used for the subj. (see Intr. 103). — **aspernantis.**] For *aspernantes* (*-is* for *-es,* as usual in Tacitus). As they would not listen to entreaties, they proceeded to threats against them.

24. **Drusum filium**]. Cousin of Germanicus, who was the son of the older Drusus, brother of the emperor. The two cousins were of nearly the same age. — **robora Germanorum**]. The Batavi were trusted German soldiers (see H. 4: 12). — **rector . . . ostentator**],

"as a guide to the youth (i.e. Drusus), and to show to the others the dangers and rewards," i.e. to show to the Pannonian soldiers the dangers of their rebellious course, and the rewards which would attend obedience. This Sejanus was the evil genius of Tiberius. He was the only person whom the emperor had confidence in, which confidence he abused in the most flagitious manner. For the post-classical word, *ostentator*, see Intr. 4.—**insignibus**], de omnis generis ornamentis, non de aquilis solis (Doed.). On festive occasions, the Roman soldiers were accustomed to furbish up and anoint their armor, standards, and other military trappings; the neglect of this was a token of distress, as at the funeral of Germanicus (see Ann. 3 : 2).

25. **Et repente**], "and then suddenly." *Et* connecting the third member of a series is very common in the Annals (see Intr. 61).—**pavebant terrebantque**], "they feared and inspired fear." We have here a striking word-picture, drawn in outline by a few bold strokes. Notice the grave solemnity of the passage, and how the effect is heightened by the omission of conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, and all unnecessary words.—**quibuscum . . . toleravisset**]. Tiberius had served in Pannonia during his first consulship.—**apud patres**], "before the fathers," i.e. in the senate.—**quem . . . esset**], "which ought (par esset) to be kept without participation in (expertem) neither the favor nor the severity," i.e. the senate should be consulted, and decide whether their request should be granted or refused, and thus share in the favor or odium of the decision.

26. **Quae perferret**], "what he should present." The conditions which he proceeds to present are the same as those named in sec. 17. As the relative implies *ea* ("such as"), the subjunctive is used (H. 501).—**cum . . . obtenderet**], "when he interposed the will of the senate and of his father." The imperf. subj. here, as usual, with *cum* in a temporal sense, follows an historical pres. in the principal clause (H. 518, II.).—**nunquam nisi ad se**], "nowhere except to themselves," i.e. were they to have all the boy-commanders of the royal family, as they had formerly had Tiberius and now Drusus? Such could never decide any thing for themselves.

27. **manus . . . armorum**], "shaking their fists at them, as the cause of their discord and appeal to arms." The apposition (causam, etc.) explaining the preceding act, is of the nature of an *attribute* (see Intr. 47).—**illa militiae flagitia**], "those abuses of the military service," i.e. such insubordination as existed there at that time.

28. **Languescere**] "to fade away." This was an eclipse of the moon, which, as has been calculated, took place on the morning of the 27th of September, A.D. 14. — **quae pergerent**], "which they were pursuing." *Pergere* is used transitively here, as in 3: 66: si rectum iter pergeret (see Intr. 26). The acc. here is that of the kindred signification, M. 223, Obs. 4. — **Ortae . . . visui**], "the clouds having risen, obscured the sight of it." They supposed it was the clouds. The author describes their feelings and reasonings at the phenomenon with his usual vivacity and insight into character. He delights in weaving into his narrative such beautiful incidents (see 3: 23, note) — **perculsae semel**], "once struck with awe" — **circumiri tentoria**], "their tents to be visited." — **quin potius**], "nay, rather," "why not rather?" (see 1: 23); see sec. 23: quin ipsae inter se legiones. — **vigiliis, stationibus**], "patrols," "guards." — **Neronibus et Drusis**]. The imperial names, Nero and Drusus, were derived, the former through an ancestor of Tiberius, and the latter through his mother, Livia. — **omittunt portas**], "they withdraw the guard from the gates." They had carefully secured the gates to the camp on the entrance of Drusus (25).

29. **Idem Blaesus**], i.e. the same who had been sent before (sec. 19), son of the general. — **e cohorte Drusi**], i.e. of his friends and companions, his suite. — **opperiundos legatos**], "that the return of the messengers should be awaited." This was one of the plans advocated. — **nihil in vulgo modicum**], "that there was no middle course with the masses." This is illustrated in what immediately follows. — **ostentui**] (see sec. 19).

30. **Conquisiti**]. Refers to *quisque* (turbator), which in Tacitus is usually accompanied by predicates and attributives in the plural (Intr. 17). — **documentum fidei**], "as evidence of their loyalty." — **vix . . . possent**]. This was regarded as a great calamity, since they reverenced their standards as divinities. — **soluti piaculo**], "quit of the infamous crime" (literally, *crime requiring purgation*). — **castra infausta**], i.e. where they had brought their standards together, and shown their seditious spirit (sec. 18). — **imminentem necessitatem**], i.e. compulsion on the part of Drusus. — **consederant**] = sedata erant (Draeger).

31. **Isdem**]. We find this form regularly in Tacitus, instead of the unabbreviated *iisdem*. — **quanto plures**]. There were eight German legions, four on the Upper and four on the Lower Rhine. — **et magna spe fore**], "and with great hope that it would happen," i.e. that

Germanicus would not submit to the government of Tiberius, but would join them against him. — **censui**]. He was taking the census as a basis for the assessment of men, arms, and money. The Gallic provinces were rich, and the census was usually conducted by men of distinction. — **Ubiorum**]. Afterwards *Colonia Agrippinensis*, now Cologne, on the Upper Rhine. — **vernacula . . . delectu**]. This levy of slaves and freedmen was made about five years before, to supply the place of the legions of Varus, which had been captured by the Germans under Arminius (Orel.). — **In suum . . . imperatores**]. Referring especially to Germanicus, though Tiberius and Drusus had both been commanders there, and received the title of Germanicus in consequence. The proper name for the emperor was *princeps*. At this period he was called *imperator* only when spoken of as commander of the armies. The arguments or incitements here used are set forth as if presented by the *vernacula multitudo*. Tacitus usually takes this method to exhibit the spirit of an occasion.

32. **Ea . . . materies**], i.e. the centurions. These were likely to be obnoxious to the soldiers, as the immediate commanders of the working divisions of the legions, like our captains; but they were specially obnoxious to them on account of the vacation fees which they exacted of them for furloughs (see 17). As implied in what immediately follows, there were sixty centurions in each legion (see 17). — **jus**], "their rights." The soldiers had taken from them into their own hands the duties of arranging the sentinels and guards (vigilias, stationes). — **animos**]. Governed by *conjectantibus*. — **ut regi crederes**], "that you might believe them to be controlled" by a dominant feeling (regi). This was indicated by the unanimity and regularity of their movements.

33. **Agrippinam**]. Grand-daughter of Augustus by his daughter Julia. Her children by Germanicus were Nero, Drusus, Caligula (emperor), Agrippina (mother of Nero, the emperor), Drusilla, Julia. — **Augustae . . . odiis**]. Livia, the second wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius and Drusus (the elder), was adopted into the Julian family under the name of Augusta (sec. 14); hence she was the grandmother (aviae) of Germanicus, who was the son of her son Drusus. At the same time, Livia was stepmother to Germanicus (see *novercalibus* below) through his adoption by Tiberius. — **eadem**], i.e. the *same* as of his father. — **et diversa . . . obscuris**], "and differing from the speech *and* countenance of Tiberius, which were haughty and obscure." — **commotior**], "too passionate." So of Drusus: animo commotior (4: 3).

34. **Niti**]. Historical infin. — **in verba ejus adigit**], "brings to his words," i.e. to the oath of allegiance to him. So: adactum in verba ejus orientem (H. 2: 73). *Proximos* here refers to the higher officers which were near him, and not away taking the census (31). — **audito**], i.e. in Belgic Gaul, where he was engaged taking the census. **obvias . . . habuit**], "he met them without the camp." — **audiri coepere**]. For the act. of *coepere* with a pass. infin., see Intr. 14. — **et . . . ostendebant**]. This was a silent, but most pathetic appeal to his sympathy. What more touching! and how could a single stroke better exhibit the crushing hardships of the Roman military service! See also below, sec. 35. — **sic . . . responsum**], "it was answered by them that thus (i.e. as they stood crowding around the general) they would hear better." They declined, therefore, to separate themselves into maniples, and then Germanicus directs them to display (praeferri) the flag of the maniples (three in each cohort), that at least the cohorts might be distinguished by this. *Praeferri* depends upon *jubet*, to be supplied from the previous sentence.

35. **Exprobrant**], "they exhibit as a reproach." — **propriis nominibus**], "in express terms," i.e. they complained in particular of having to make the rampart, the trenches, and to collect food, camp materials, fire-wood, and attend to other harassing duties (such as making roads, bridges, &c.), in time of peace. The author sets forth their grievances in a tone of sympathy and pathos, as though they were his own. — **mederetur fessis . . . neu mortem**], "that he should extend relief to them, exhausted as they were, not death," &c. Both the subjunctive sentence and the accusatives following it depend upon *orabant* (which is usually accompanied by the subj. without *ut*: 2 : 21; Intr. 78; H. 493; A. and G. 196, Rem.). The subjunctive sentence, it will be observed, is thus made co-ordinate with the nouns (see Intr. 119, 12). — **neque inopem requiem**], "nor penniless rest," i.e. to be discharged without any thing to support them afterwards. — **vix credibile dictu**]. The wonder was, that not only those remote from him and concealed by being huddled together, but some single individuals approaching near to him, should tell him to strike.

61. **Igitur cupido Caesarem, etc.**]. Germanicus, having crossed the Rhine and pursued the Germans over the river Ems, to the vicinity of the Teutoburgian Forest, where Varus and his three Roman legions were destroyed some six years before (see next sec.) by the German general Arminius, now proceeds to survey the scene

of the conflict and perform funeral rites (suprema) to the departed soldiers. This leads to further adventures and conflicts with Arminius. This was in A.D. 15, the year following the previous conflict.—**aggeres**], "causeways."—**occulta saltuum**], "the concealed *parts* of the forests;" so, humido paludum, "the wet *parts* of the marshes," and often in Tacitus (see Intr. 40).—**deformis**], "disagreeable," the ending *-is* being for *-es*, as usual in Tacitus. This defeat of Varus was a most humiliating event to the Romans, and made a national hero of Arminius, who is celebrated in German song and story under the name of Hermann. A colossal statue of him has just (1875) been unveiled at Detmold.—**manus**], "the hands," "labors." These were shown by the extent (ambitu) of the camp and the spaces arranged for headquarters (principia). At their first encampment, therefore, the three legions were entire.—**accisae jam . . . intelligebantur**], "the already diminished remains (i.e. of the legions) were seen to have encamped." Their wasted condition was inferred from the incompleteness of the rampart and trench. This was another camp indicated by *dein*. For the nominative with the infin. (consedisse), see Intr. 82.—**medio campi**], i.e. in the plain between the two camps.—**quot . . . illuserit**], "how many gibbets for the captives, what graves; and how in his arrogance he jeered at the standards and eagles!" This and the preceding sentences depend upon *referebant*. The subject is just suited to the grave and solemn genius of Tacitus, which is here exhibited in its perfection.

62. **Extruendo tumulo**]. For this gerundive dative, see Intr. 109, *b*.—**praesentibus . . . socius**], "as partner in grief with those present."—**trahenti**], "interpreting;" agreeing with *Tiberio*.—**Auguratu . . . praeditum**], "intrusted with the office of augur and the most ancient ceremonies" (as Germanicus was, 2: 83).—**attrectare feralia**], "to participate in funeral rites."

63. **Copia**], "opportunity."—**evehi**], "to be led forth."—**colligi suos**]. The first of these words is governed by *monitos*, and the other by *vertit*.—**nova acie**], i.e. by the force suddenly appearing from the forest.—**productas legiones**], "his legions brought forward." Only the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts had hitherto been engaged in the action.—**manibus aequis**], "with equal forces," "on equal terms." It was a drawn battle.—**ut advexerat**], "as he had brought them" (for this pluperf. and *auxerant* above, see Intr. 15, *b*). Germanicus had brought his four legions in vessels across the

other places, it has an active meaning (knowing), as: gnarus sub Nerone temporum (Agric. 6). *Caesari* here refers to Augustus.— **dubium . . . morte**]. Implies a suspicion that he may have been put to death by Livia, on account of his privity to the supposed purpose of Augustus to restore Agrippa Postumus to favor and to the empire. Such parenthetical clauses, with *dubium, incertum*, etc., are quite common in Tacitus (Intr. 75). Augustus died A.D. 14. These first five sections are introductory, and how full of interest and wisdom!

11. **Versae . . . preces**]. The senate, having paid proper funeral honors to Augustus, now go through the farce of entreating Tiberius to assume the duties of the government. — **ab illo**], i.e. by Augustus. — **sua modestia**], "his own moderate ability," "humble aspirations" (see H. 3 : 70). — **subjectum fortunae**], "dependent on fortune." — **quam fidei**], "than of sincerity." We have here an admirable description of the dark, dissimulating ways of Tiberius, using words to conceal his thoughts. — **si viderentur**], i.e. Tiberii simulationem (Orelli). Hence they fell to entreating and imploring him, as though they thought he was sincere. — **effigiem Augusti**]. This was in the senate chamber (see 2 : 37). — **opes publicae continebantur**], "the public resources were contained in it," i.e. in the *libellum*, which he finally allowed to be produced. This was a breviary of the empire and its resources, which had been left by Augustus. — **regna**], i.e. kingdoms subject to Roman power, but not yet governed as provinces. — **tributa . . . vectigalia**]. The former were direct taxes, the latter indirect taxes. — **necessitates ac largitiones**], i.e. the necessary expenses of the government, and gifts for the people and soldiers. — **terminos imperii**]. These boundaries were the Euphrates, the Ister (or Danube), the Rhine, and the Ocean. — **metu an per invidiam**], "whether from fear or through envy." Notice the change from the abl. to *per* with acc. for variety (Intr. 60).

15. **Comitia**], i.e. the election of magistrates, referring here especially to the election of pretors. These elections up to this time (A.D. 14) had been made by the people in the Campus Martius; now, at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, they were transferred to the senate. But, as Draeger says, even while the elections were in the Campus Martius, Augustus had the right of nomination, which virtually determined the choice. — **studiis tribuum**], "according to the wishes of the tribes," i.e. the people meeting as *tribes*, this clas-

sification having superseded that by *centuries* (see Dic. Antiq. p. 1008). — **exsolutus**], "freed from." In their more popular form, the elections had been attended by bribery and solicitations of various kinds, from which the senate chamber was comparatively free; hence the people more readily acquiesced in the change. — **moderante**], "regulating," "arranging," "agreeing." — **sine . . . designandos**], "to be elected without repulse and solicitation," i.e. without opposition on the part of the senate, or further demands on his part. The emperor thus had the absolute choice of four out of the twelve pretors (the manner of whose election is here under discussion), and the nomination, and hence virtually the election of the others; as he did also of the consuls and the other public functionaries. — **triumphali vesta**], i.e. the *toga picta* (purple mixed with gold), such as the consuls and pretors wore when they exhibited the games in the Circus Maximus. This sentence, introduced by *ut*, serves as a substitute for a noun corresponding to *pecunia* (see Intr. 119, 12). They were not allowed to pay the expenses, as this looked like a bid for popular favor. — **annua . . . inter cives**], i.e. the *praetor peregrinus* for the year.

16. **ostendebat**], "showed," "promised." — **ob justitium aut gaudium**], i.e. because they thought themselves justly relieved from service by the death of the old prince, or else from joy at the accession of a new prince. *Aut* ("or else") expresses an absolute disjunction between things which mutually exclude each other, so that only one of them can be taken; while *vel* ("or if you wish," from *velle*) presents an alternative between things which do not necessarily exclude each other, and hence allow an option. — **theatralium operarum**], "of the theatrical factions," i.e. factions devoted to sustaining certain actors by applause and hissing their rivals. They often occasioned great disturbance at the theatres, and had to be restrained by severe laws (see 77, and 9: 13). — **et quaenam**] *foret* (in the subj. in an indirect question) is omitted here (Intr. 20).

17. **Paucioribus tribunis**]. There were sixty centurions and six tribunes to a legion, which when full contained sixty centuries (originally hundreds=6000), thirty maniples (of two hundred men each), and ten cohorts (originally of six hundred men each). But before the time of Marius, the term *cohort* was little used except of auxiliary troops (and indeed is generally so used by Tacitus); and the maniple consisted of only sixty soldiers, constituting a division in each of the three lines of the legion (*hastati, principes, triarii*), which

gradually disappeared after the time of Marius, the army being drawn up in lines by cohorts. See *army*, in Smith's Dic. Antiq. — **stipendia**], "pay for military service," "term of military service." The speaker exaggerates the term of service, which at different times and in different kinds of service varied from sixteen to twenty years; after which, soldiers were enrolled as veterans, and retained (as said below) under a *vexillum*, to serve only on extraordinary occasions (H. 2: 83). — **per nomen . . . montium**]. Referring to the lands assigned to discharged soldiers, usually on the frontiers. *Paludum* and *montium* are appositional genitives, governed each by the word preceding it (Intr. 40, *b*). — **saevitiam . . . redimi**]. The reference here is to the purchase of furloughs or exemptions from service (munerum). See the abuse more fully described, H. 1: 46. — **sempiterna**]. In the neuter, as the nouns to which it refers are of different genders and designate inanimate objects. The author seems to be almost pleading their cause for them. — **si certis . . . iniretur**]. The only conditions, he says, which would bring them any relief were that they should receive a denary (at that time sixteen ases, i.e. about a shilling) a day, and be wholly released from service at the end of sixteen years, and receive a bounty in money. — **praetorias cohortes**]. The imperial guard, at this time nine cohorts of a thousand in each; increased by Vitellius to sixteen cohorts (H. 2: 93). Their camp was established by Sejanus just outside of the city walls (A. 4: 1).

18. **Diversis incitamentis**], "from various incitements;" which the author proceeds to state. For *hi — illi — plurimi*, see Intr. 72. — **depulsi aemulatione**], i.e. from merging their three legions into one; since each legion wanted to be the principal one and to absorb the others, rather than be absorbed. To prevent this difficulty, each seems to have retained its separate organization, but to have proceeded to prepare a separate place (*alio*), with a tribunal to speak from, where they placed their standards together, and were to meet for consultation. Each legion had an eagle, and each cohort had three standards (*signa*), one for each of its three maniples of two hundred men (see sec. 34). — **properantibus**]. For the government, see Intr. 31. — **poenitentiam accelerabo**]. His death, by their hands, would hasten their repentance.

19. **Pectori**], dat. expressing the limit with *accressere*, instead of the acc. with *ad* (like: incessit itineri, sec. 51). This saves the use of one word, for which purpose, apparently, Tacitus, who always

affects the greatest brevity, uses the dat. more frequently than most Latin writers, to express an end or advantage, as: locum foederi accepit (Ann. 12: 46); so especially with *obtentui*, *venatui*, *ostentui*, and other nouns of the fourth declension (see Intr. 31).—**pervicacia**], i.e. of Blesus.—**multa dicendi arte**], "a man of great art in speaking" (see Intr. 38).—**tam nova**], "so new, unusual things."—**seque coram**], "and in their own presence," i.e. for themselves, on the spot. *Coram*, as well as other prepositions, is often placed thus after its noun by Tacitus, by what is called *anastrophe* (Intr. 117).—**ab sedecim annis**], "after sixteen years' service."—**orator publicae causae**], "having become the advocate of the cause of the soldiers." —**provenissent**] = prospere successissent (Draeger).

20. **Nauportum**]. A town in upper Pannonia. It was a free town, enjoying the rights of Roman citizenship (municipium).—**Vexilla convellunt**]. As these were detachments of soldiers (manipuli) sent out for a particular service (to repair bridges, &c.), the *vexillum* was their proper standard. For the order of the clauses in this period, see Intr. 118.—**retinentis**]. Agrees with *centuriones*, ending *-is* for *-es* ("the centurions restraining them").—**praecipua . . . ira**], "with special indignation," &c. The prefect of the camp corresponded to our quartermaster-general.—**vehiculo**], i.e. from the carriage in which he was riding.—**intentus . . . toleraverat**], "zealous of military works and labors, and on this account the more rigid, because he had endured them himself!" The old editions have *vetus* here, instead of *intentus*.

21. **Parebatur**], "obedience was rendered to;" as in arresting and confining these disorderly soldiers.—**ciere**]. Historical infin. With *nomina* it means "to call," but with the other accusatives it means "to incite," "appeal to." By what is called *zeugma*, Tacitus often strains the meaning of a word thus, to save the use of several (see Intr. 121). Notice, too, the omission of copulative conjunctions, so common with him.—**nihil reliqui faciunt**], "they make nothing of a remainder," "they leave nothing undone." *Reliqui* is a partitive gen. depending on *nihil* (M. 285, Ob. 2). For the adversative meaning of the following *quo minus*, see Intr. 99.—**invidiam**]. The prevalent meaning of this word is "odium," "hatred."—**desertoresque**]. These came to them from the general jail delivery which they had just made.

22. **Seditioni duces**], "leaders to the sedition." Dat. for the gen. (see sec. 3 and 24).—**quid pararet**], "what he might prepare,"

"propose." This is an indirect question depending on *intentos* ("anxious to hear"); hence the subj. (H. 525; A. and G. 190, 2).—**lucem reddidistis**]. This they had done by liberating them from prison.—**jugulavit**], "he murdered," pointing probably to Blaesus, whom he immediately addresses in the second person.—**gladiatores**]. These were kept by the governors of provinces and by generals in camp for gladiatorial shows (Orelli).—**ne . . . invident**], "not even enemies deny burial to one." This is one of the several constructions of *invidere*, a dat. of the person being understood, with the abl. denoting that in regard to which or on account of which he was not envied (see Germania, sec. 33). But Cicero always says: aliquid alicui invidere (see Intr. 39; M. 261; 244).—**Dum . . . sepeliant**], "if only these may bury us slain," &c. The subj. is always connected with *dum* in this sense (H. 503: A. and G. 175, 3).

23. **Incendebat . . . fletu**], "he inflamed (enhanced) these things by weeping." *Verberans* corresponds to *fletu* (see Intr. 119, 5)—**Praeceps . . . advolutus**] ,"rushing down and throwing himself at the feet of each one," i.e. as a suppliant.—**ceteram ejusdem familiam**], "the remainder of his family servants," i.e. besides the gladiators.—**neque . . . pernotuisset**], "and it had not been well known that he had no brother." The negative properly belongs to *unquam* (ne . . . unquam = nunquam).—**haud . . . aberant**], "they were not far from killing the general" (and would have killed him, *unless*, &c.) A thought is often thus suppressed in connection with the conjunction *ni;* but the principal sentence, which here follows the subordinate sentence with *ni*, usually precedes it (see below, and sec. 35).—**cedo**]. This is an old imperative, meaning "give me." In militia cives Romani verberabantur vitibus, ceteri fustibus (Orel.).—**quin**], i.e. *qui* (old abl.) *ne*, "why not?" "indeed," "nay, more."—**dum . . . tuentur**], "while that (viz. the eighth legion) demands a centurion, Serpicus by name, for death (and) the soldiers of the fifteenth defend him." They almost came to blows (ferrum parabant), *and would* unless, &c.; literally, "they were coming to blows," the indic. being used for the subj. (see Intr. 103).—**aspernantis.**] For *aspernantes* (*-is* for *-es*, as usual in Tacitus). As they would not listen to entreaties, they proceeded to threats against them.

24. **Drusum filium**]. Cousin of Germanicus, who was the son of the older Drusus, brother of the emperor. The two cousins were of nearly the same age.—**robora Germanorum**]. The Batavi were trusted German soldiers (see H. 4: 12).—**rector . . . ostentator**],

"as a guide to the youth (i.e. Drusus), and to show to the others the dangers and rewards," i.e. to show to the Pannonian soldiers the dangers of their rebellious course, and the rewards which would attend obedience. This Sejanus was the evil genius of Tiberius. He was the only person whom the emperor had confidence in, which confidence he abused in the most flagitious manner. For the post-classical word, *ostentator*, see Intr. 4.—**insignibus**], de omnis generis ornamentis, non de aquilis solis (Doed.). On festive occasions, the Roman soldiers were accustomed to furbish up and anoint their armor, standards, and other military trappings; the neglect of this was a token of distress, as at the funeral of Germanicus (see Ann. 3 : 2).

25. **Et repente**], "and then suddenly." *Et* connecting the third member of a series is very common in the Annals (see Intr. 61).—**pavebant terrebantque**], "they feared and inspired fear." We have here a striking word-picture, drawn in outline by a few bold strokes. Notice the grave solemnity of the passage, and how the effect is heightened by the omission of conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, and all unnecessary words.—**quibuscum . . . toleravisset**]. Tiberius had served in Pannonia during his first consulship.—**apud patres**], "before the fathers," i.e. in the senate.—**quem . . . esset**], "which ought (par esset) to be kept without participation in (expertem) neither the favor nor the severity," i.e. the senate should be consulted, and decide whether their request should be granted or refused, and thus share in the favor or odium of the decision.

26. **Quae perferret**], "what he should present." The conditions which he proceeds to present are the same as those named in sec. 17. As the relative implies *ea* ("such as"), the subjunctive is used (H. 501).—**cum . . . obtenderet**], "when he interposed the will of the senate and of his father." The imperf. subj. here, as usual, with *cum* in a temporal sense, follows an historical pres. in the principal clause (H. 518, II.).—**nunquam nisi ad se**], "nowhere except to themselves," i.e. were they to have all the boy-commanders of the royal family, as they had formerly had Tiberius and now Drusus? Such could never decide any thing for themselves.

27. **manus . . . armorum**], "shaking their fists at them, as the cause of their discord and appeal to arms." The apposition (causam, etc.) explaining the preceding act, is of the nature of an *attribute* (see Intr. 47).—**illa militiae flagitia**], "those abuses of the military service," i.e. such insubordination as existed there at that time.

28. **Languescere**] "to fade away." This was an eclipse of the moon, which, as has been calculated, took place on the morning of the 27th of September, A.D. 14. — **quae pergerent**], "which they were pursuing." *Pergere* is used transitively here, as in 3: 66: si rectum iter pergeret (see Intr. 26). The acc. here is that of the kindred signification, M. 223, Obs. 4.— **Ortae . . . visui**], "the clouds having risen, obscured the sight of it." They supposed it was the clouds. The author describes their feelings and reasonings at the phenomenon with his usual vivacity and insight into character. He delights in weaving into his narrative such beautiful incidents (see 3: 23, note) — **perculsae semel**], "once struck with awe" — **circumiri tentoria**], "their tents to be visited." — **quin potius**], "nay, rather," "why not rather?" (see 1: 23); see sec. 23: quin ipsae inter se legiones. — **vigiliis, stationibus**], "patrols," "guards." — **Neronibus et Drusis**]. The imperial names, Nero and Drusus, were derived, the former through an ancestor of Tiberius, and the latter through his mother, Livia. — **omittunt portas**], "they withdraw the guard from the gates." They had carefully secured the gates to the camp on the entrance of Drusus (25).

29. **Idem Blaesus**], i.e. the same who had been sent before (sec. 19), son of the general. — **e cohorte Drusi**], i.e. of his friends and companions, his suite. — **opperiundos legatos**], "that the return of the messengers should be awaited." This was one of the plans advocated. — **nihil in vulgo modicum**], "that there was no middle course with the masses." This is illustrated in what immediately follows. — **ostentui**] (see sec. 19).

30. **Conquisiti**]. Refers to *quisque* (turbator), which in Tacitus is usually accompanied by predicates and attributives in the plural (Intr. 17). — **documentum fidei**], "as evidence of their loyalty." — **vix . . . possent**]. This was regarded as a great calamity, since they reverenced their standards as divinities. — **soluti piaculo**], "quit of the infamous crime" (literally, *crime requiring purgation*). — **castra infausta**], i.e. where they had brought their standards together, and shown their seditious spirit (sec. 18). — **imminentem necessitatem**], i.e. compulsion on the part of Drusus. — **consederant**] = sedata erant (Draeger).

31. **Isdem**]. We find this form regularly in Tacitus, instead of the unabbreviated *iisdem*. — **quanto plures**]. There were eight German legions, four on the Upper and four on the Lower Rhine. — **et magna spe fore**], "and with great hope that it would happen," i.e. that

Germanicus would not submit to the government of Tiberius, but would join them against him.—**censui**]. He was taking the census as a basis for the assessment of men, arms, and money. The Gallic provinces were rich, and the census was usually conducted by men of distinction.—**Ubiorum**]. Afterwards *Colonia Agrippinensis*, now Cologne, on the Upper Rhine.—**vernacula . . . delectu**]. This levy of slaves and freedmen was made about five years before, to supply the place of the legions of Varus, which had been captured by the Germans under Arminius (Orel.).—**In suum . . . imperatores**]. Referring especially to Germanicus, though Tiberius and Drusus had both been commanders there, and received the title of Germanicus in consequence. The proper name for the emperor was *princeps*. At this period he was called *imperator* only when spoken of as commander of the armies. The arguments or incitements here used are set forth as if presented by the *vernacula multitudo*. Tacitus usually takes this method to exhibit the spirit of an occasion.

32. **Ea . . . materies**], i.e. the centurions. These were likely to be obnoxious to the soldiers, as the immediate commanders of the working divisions of the legions, like our captains; but they were specially obnoxious to them on account of the vacation fees which they exacted of them for furloughs (see 17). As implied in what immediately follows, there were sixty centurions in each legion (see 17).—**jus**], "their rights." The soldiers had taken from them into their own hands the duties of arranging the sentinels and guards (vigilias, stationes).—**animos**]. Governed by *conjectantibus*.—**ut regi crederes**], "that you might believe them to be controlled" by a dominant feeling (regi). This was indicated by the unanimity and regularity of their movements.

33. **Agrippinam**]. Grand-daughter of Augustus by his daughter Julia. Her children by Germanicus were Nero, Drusus, Caligula (emperor), Agrippina (mother of Nero, the emperor), Drusilla, Julia.—**Augustae . . . odiis**]. Livia, the second wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius and Drusus (the elder), was adopted into the Julian family under the name of Augusta (sec. 14); hence she was the grandmother (aviae) of Germanicus, who was the son of her son Drusus. At the same time, Livia was stepmother to Germanicus (see *novercalibus* below) through his adoption by Tiberius.—**eadem**], i.e. the *same* as of his father.—**et diversa . . . obscuris**], "and differing from the speech *and* countenance of Tiberius, which were haughty and obscure."—**commotior**], "too passionate." So of Drusus: animo commotior (4: 3).

34. **Niti**]. Historical infin. — **in verba ejus adigit**], "brings to his words," i.e. to the oath of allegiance to him. So: adactum in verba ejus orientem (H. 2: 73). *Proximos* here refers to the higher officers which were near him, and not away taking the census (31). — **audito**], i.e. in Belgic Gaul, where he was engaged taking the census. **obvias . . . habuit**], "he met them without the camp." — **audiri coepere**]. For the act. of *coepere* with a pass. infin., see Intr. 14. — **et . . . ostendebant**]. This was a silent, but most pathetic appeal to his sympathy. What more touching! and how could a single stroke better exhibit the crushing hardships of the Roman military service! See also below, sec. 35. — **sic . . . responsum**], "it was answered by them that thus (i.e. as they stood crowding around the general) they would hear better." They declined, therefore, to separate themselves into maniples, and then Germanicus directs them to display (praeferri) the flag of the maniples (three in each cohort), that at least the cohorts might be distinguished by this. *Praeferri* depends upon *jubet*, to be supplied from the previous sentence.

35. **Exprobrant**], "they exhibit as a reproach." — **propriis nominibus**], "in express terms," i.e. they complained in particular of having to make the rampart, the trenches, and to collect food, camp materials, fire-wood, and attend to other harassing duties (such as making roads, bridges, &c.), in time of peace. The author sets forth their grievances in a tone of sympathy and pathos, as though they were his own. — **mederetur fessis . . . neu mortem**], "that he should extend relief to them, exhausted as they were, not death," &c. Both the subjunctive sentence and the accusatives following it depend upon *orabant* (which is usually accompanied by the subj. without *ut:* 2 : 21; Intr. 78; H. 493; A. and G. 196, Rem.). The subjunctive sentence, it will be observed, is thus made co-ordinate with the nouns (see Intr. 119, 12). — **neque inopem requiem**], "nor penniless rest," i.e. to be discharged without any thing to support them afterwards. — **vix credibile dictu**]. The wonder was, that not only those remote from him and concealed by being huddled together, but some single individuals approaching near to him, should tell him to strike.

61. **Igitur cupido Caesarem, etc.**]. Germanicus, having crossed the Rhine and pursued the Germans over the river Ems, to the vicinity of the Teutoburgian Forest, where Varus and his three Roman legions were destroyed some six years before (see next sec.) by the German general Arminius, now proceeds to survey the scene

of the conflict and perform funeral rites (suprema) to the departed soldiers. This leads to further adventures and conflicts with Arminius. This was in A.D. 15, the year following the previous conflict. — **aggeres**], "causeways." — **occulta saltuum**], "the concealed *parts* of the forests;" so, humido paludum, "the wet *parts* of the marshes," and often in Tacitus (see Intr. 40). — **deformis**], "disagreeable," the ending *-is* being for *-es*, as usual in Tacitus. This defeat of Varus was a most humiliating event to the Romans, and made a national hero of Arminius, who is celebrated in German song and story under the name of Hermann. A colossal statue of him has just (1875) been unveiled at Detmold. — **manus**], "the hands," "labors." These were shown by the extent (ambitu) of the camp and the spaces arranged for headquarters (principia). At their first encampment, therefore, the three legions were entire. — **accisae jam . . . intelligebantur**], "the already diminished remains (i.e. of the legions) were seen to have encamped." Their wasted condition was inferred from the incompleteness of the rampart and trench. This was another camp indicated by *dein*. For the nominative with the infin. (consedisse), see Intr. 82. — **medio campi**], i.e. in the plain between the two camps. — **quot . . . illuserit**], "'how many gibbets for the captives, what graves; and how in his arrogance he jeered at the standards and eagles!" This and the preceding sentences depend upon *referebant*. The subject is just suited to the grave and solemn genius of Tacitus, which is here exhibited in its perfection.

62. **Extruendo tumulo**]. For this gerundive dative, see Intr. 109, *b*. — **praesentibus . . . socius**], "as partner in grief with those present." — **trahenti**], "interpreting;" agreeing with *Tiberio*. — **Auguratu . . . praeditum**], "intrusted with the office of augur and the most ancient ceremonies" (as Germanicus was, 2 : 83). — **attrectare feralia**], "to participate in funeral rites."

63. **Copia**], "opportunity." — **evehi**], "to be led forth." — **colligi suos**]. The first of these words is governed by *monitos*, and the other by *vertit*. — **nova acie**], i.e. by the force suddenly appearing from the forest. — **productas legiones**], "his legions brought forward." Only the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts had hitherto been engaged in the action. — **manibus aequis**], "with equal forces," "on equal terms." It was a drawn battle. — **ut advexerat**], "as he had brought them" (for this pluperf. and *auxerant* above, see Intr. 15, *b*). Germanicus had brought his four legions in vessels across the

lakes between the Rhine and the Ems, while Caecina and Pedo had conducted their forces (four legions and the cavalry) to the same place by other routes (see sec. 60). And now they were to return in the same way; but two of the legions of Germanicus returned part of the way by land (see 70). — **angustus is trames**]. This was the *pontes longos*, a sort of corduroy road made of timber and gravel by Lucius Domitius, grandfather of the emperor Nero (see 4: 44). — **cum antevenisset**], "since he had got ahead of" (subj. as usual; for the acc. *militem*, see Intr. 25, *c*). — **ut opus**]. *Alii* is to be supplied with these words ("that *some* might begin the work, others the fight:" (see Intr. 64; H. 3: 27).

64. **Stationes . . . nisi**], "striving to break through the guards and attack the builders." — **pugnae**]. The dative with verbs of *taking away from* denotes the person (or thing viewed as a person) benefited or losing by the act: the battle lost its victims. — **et obruto . . . operis**], "and what of their work had been effected having been overthrown." — **anteirent**], "might get in advance of them (i.e. of the enemy). — **lateri . . . in laevum . . . ad agmen . . . adversum secuturos**]. *Secuturos* refers to the enemy, and is governed by *adversum*. Notice the variety in cases and prepositions to express what would have admitted of a uniform construction. This is characteristic of Tacitus (see Intr. 119).

65. **Invalidi . . . voces**]. From a want of fuel, from timidity, &c. — **dira quies**], "a frightful dream." — **non tamen . . . repulisse**], "yet he did not give himself up to him, and *seemed* to have rejected the hand of him extending it," i.e. of Varus. *Repulisse* depends upon *visus est*, to be supplied from the preceding sentence. — **humentia ultra**], "beyond the wet ground." The preposition here, as frequently in Tacitus, is placed by *anastrophe* (Intr. 116, *a*) after its noun, in imitation of the poets (see 19). Caecina had arranged his forces, so as to keep the enemy from rushing upon him from the contiguous forests (64); but the legions assigned to the flanks now desert their post, leaving the line open to the attack (libero incursu) of Arminius, which he breaks through (scindit), and produces great confusion and destruction, especially among the cavalry. This seems to be the general meaning of this passage. — **utque**] = *utque fieri solet*, as often in Tacitus (Draeger). — **non tentoriis manipulis**]. The legions seem to have tented by maniples. — **sibi quisque properus**], "each looking out for himself." — **tot milibus**]. Governed by *reliquum* ("the single day still remaining to so many thou-

sand men"). They expected to be captured by the enemy the next day.

66. **Aversa hosti**], "turned from the enemy." The dat. instead of *ab* with the abl. This *decuman* gate took its name from the arrangement of the streets of the camp, which crossed each other at angles, like the letter X (decem). The gate opposite the decuman (which was sometimes called *quaestoria*) was the *porta praetoria* (sometimes called *extraordinaria*), and the other two the *principalis dextra* and the *principalis sinistra*. (See *Castra*, in Smith's Dic. Antiq.) — **comperto**]. Ablative absolute used as a neuter noun. (See 2: 60; Intr. 112; M. 429; A. & G. 143, *c*.).

67. **Mox pedes**], i.e. Caecina ("he henceforth being on foot"). As many horses had been killed in the recent battle (65), Caecina assigned his own horses, and those of the centurions and tribunes, to the bravest warriors, *without regard to persons* (nulla ambitione; lit., "with no ambitious purpose").

68. **Et**]. Often found thus in Tacitus, in the third member of a sentence (Intr. 61). — **agebat**], "passed his time," meaning about the same as *erat* (see Germ. sec. 7 and 19) — **proruunt fossas**]. A pregnant construction for: vallum in fossas proruunt (Draeger). — **atrociora**]. Governed by *suadente*, to be supplied with Inguiomero. The *crates* were thrown in to form a bridge to the top of the interior embankment of the rampart. — **raro super milite**], i.e. scarcely a soldier appeared upon the rampart to defend it against the assault of the storming parties of the Germans. — **postquam haesere munimentis**], "after they were well engaged at the fortifications." — **exprobrantes**], "throwing it out in a taunting way." The Romans had reached solid ground the night before, and encamped there for the night (65). — **quanto offunduntur**], "by how much unexpected, by so much the heavier they fall upon them," i.e. upon the enemy (hosti). This is one of the irregular forms of comparison (*magis* being omitted in the first member) resorted to by Tacitus, apparently for variety (see Intr. 97). Here it is to be noticed that the adjectives referring to the nouns denoting inanimate objects (sonus, fulgor) are in the neuter plural, although the nouns are both of the same gender (Intr. 18). — **reversae legiones**], i.e. the legions of Caecina having at length reached the Rhine. — **cuncta**]. Summative asyndeton (Intr. 73).

69. **Sed femina . . . induit**], "but, a woman of great courage, she assumed the duties of a general in those days." The bridge

which Agrippina (the wife of Germanicus) saved was at the winter camp on the Rhine, called *Vetera*. The timid wished to destroy the bridge from fear that the Germans, having, as was rumored, destroyed the legions under the command of Germanicus, would rush across it, and devastate the defenceless country on the Gallic side (Gallias peti). *Animi* is gen. of respect (Intr. 44, *b*).—**studia militum**]. Halm supplies *studia* here, which seems to be required. Tiberius regarded these attentions (curas) to the soldiers on the part of Agrippina as ambitious, and even more so than her ambitious course with her son, Caius (Caligula). — **Odia in longum jaciens**], "sowing the seeds of future animosities." These he expected would germinate in the suspicious mind of Tiberius, and bring forth an abundant harvest by and by. We have here a glimpse of the baleful influence of Sejanus over Tiberius.

70. **Reciproco**], agreeing with *mari*, to be supplied ("or settled more lightly in the ebbing sea"). — **quo . . . Oceanus**], i.e. by the equinoctial constellation, which the ancients supposed influenced the storms and tides. It was at the time of the autumnal equinox. The description of the whole scene is wonderfully vivid, and as near perfect as one can well imagine. — **non . . . et**]. Often thus in Tacitus (Intr. 61). — *Visurgin* is probably a spurious reading for some other river west of the Ems, where Germanicus had evidently returned with his fleet; who now takes on board the two legions, which Vitellius had conducted across the marshy country, and thus all returned to the Rhine; whither Caecina also had returned by land with his four legions (68).

BOOK II.

12. **Visurgim**]. Now the Weser. We have here an account of another contest of Germanicus with Arminius, the indomitable chief of the Cherusci, which took place in the summer following the preceding one (A.D. 16). The scene is a little farther east, across the Weser. — **habita indici fides**], "credence was given to the informer." — **quonam . . . foret**], "in what way this might be reliable" (incorruptum). — **Cum secreti et incustoditi**], "when in private

and off their guard." This seemed to him the best time for ascertaining the real views of the soldiers.

13. **Augurali**], "from the place of auguries," i.e. from his headquarters in the camp, in connection with which was an *auguratorium* (15: 30).—**contectus . . . pelle**]. In the disguise of a common soldier, perhaps, with his skin-coat. *Humeros* is what is called the Greek acc., or acc. of specification (H. 380; A. & G. 133, 3; Intr. 24).—**Fama sui**], "their opinion concerning himself." *Sui* is an objective gen. (H. 396; M. 283; A. & G. 117, *a.*); so also: defensionem sui (3: 67).—**per seria . . . faterentur**], i.e. they commended his uniform frankness (right the opposite of Tiberius), in both serious and trivial affairs, and acknowledged their obligation from gratitude to sustain him in battle.—**mactandos**], "should be offered up." The reference is to the enemy before them, the Cherusci, who had destroyed the legions of Varus through perfidy.—**stipendii**]. Governed by *sestertios*.—**tertia ferme vigilia**], "about three o'clock in the morning." For the Roman reckoning of time, see H. 3: 22, note.—**sensere**], "they perceived."

14. **Operatum**], "engaged in offering a sacrifice." Germanicus was priest as well as general, and in sacrificing he wore the *toga praetexta*.—**auctus**], "elated."—**ora . . . quaererent**]. Oberlin says: "Notum id Caesaris: miles, faciem feri." The leading sentences in indirect or reported discourse, which so abounds in Tacitus, should generally be introduced by *that* in translating them into English.—**primam . . . hastam**], "the first line is furnished with spears *after some sort*" (utcumque).—**adversis**]. Abl. absolute in alternation with *inter secunda* (Intr. 60).—**jam**] = *jam vero*, "now, truly," "now, indeed," "nay, more" (see Ann. 1: 41).—**patris patruique**]. His father, Drusus, and uncle, Tiberius, had each gained brilliant victories in that region.—**sisterent victorem**], "they should make victor."

15. **Quaesita**], i.e. *quaesita esse*, referring to both *classem* and *avia*.—**terga**]. Governed by *objiciant*.—**ante servitium**], "before servitude," "rather than be slaves."

16. **Idisiaviso**]. In the dat. to agree with *cui*, which is the more usual construction, instead of agreeing in case with nomen (H. 387, 2).—**duabus . . . equite**]. These were his trusted soldiers, his suite or body-guard.—**ut assisteret**], "ut ordo agminis, quando agmen sisteret, aciem statim formaret, neque opus esset talem tunc demum instruere" (Orelli). The battles in Tacitus are distinguished by the distinctness and vividness of his description of the order of the forces.

17. **Catervis**]. This term is properly applied, as here, only to bodies of barbarian troops. — **imperatorem advertere**], "attracted the attention of the commander." The ending *-ere* in the third person plural, perf. active, is more common in Tacitus than that in *-erunt*. — **manu, voce, vulnere**]. A climactic asyndeton (Intr. 71, 2). — **irent**], "that they should advance." — **illa**], "there," "by that way," *via* or *parte* being implied. — **tradiderunt**], "related," "asserted." — **prorutae arbores**], "the trees cut down," "prostrated."

18. **Quinta . . . opplevere**], "the enemy slain from the fifth hour of the day till night covered the distance of ten thousand paces with their dead bodies and arms." — **Tiberium . . . salutavit**]. Tiberius, as the reigning emperor, was considered as gaining all the victories of his generals.

19. **Haud perinde . . . quam**], "not in like manner as," i.e. this trophy enraged them more than all their sufferings and losses. — **trans Albim**]. They had been forced back from the Rhine, across the Ems and the Weser, and had been preparing for another remove across the Elbe. — **plebes . . . senes**]. Adversative asyndeton in pairs (see H. 1 : 3). — **arta intus . . . humida**], "with a contracted and moist plain within."

20. **Consilia . . . occulta**], "plans, places; movements open or concealed." Asyndeton again. For *locos*, instead of *loca* (see H. 2 : 42). — **objectum . . . eniteretur**], "might gain possession of the opposing mound," i.e. the mound made by the Angrivarii. — **quod arduum sibi**], "what was difficult he reserved for himself." The meaning of *permisit* is applicable to this member of the sentence only by a very forced zeugma. — **quis**]. This contracted form seems to have been used here for variety, as *quibus* had just preceded it. The form, however, is very common in Tacitus. — **ut si . . . succederent**], "as if they were approaching a wall." — **collato . . . certatum**], "there they struggled, step against step," i.e. they contested the ground inch by inch (see H. 2: 42).

21. **Coacta**], "crowded together;" this agrees with *multitudo*, the subject of the intervening verbs. These subjunctives, as is frequently the case in Tacitus, are equivalent to *posset* with the infin. — **foderet**]. The same construction is continued here as in the preceding sentences, depending upon *cum* (quum). — **capiti**], i.e. to the exposure of his head, dat. of disadvantage. — **nil opus fore**]. This was a war of extermination, and no quarter was to be given. The cool indifference with which this is stated shows the savage spirit of the times.

22. **Mandat**], "he commits to," *and he would have carried it on,* had they not, &c. (see 1 : 23). — **nihil abnuendo**], "by refusing nothing," i.e. by declining to submit to no conditions, however onerous.

23. **Aestate adulta**], i.e. midsummer. The months of each quarter of the year — spring, summer, autumn, and winter — had a particular designation; the first month in each quarter being called *primus* (or novus); the second, *adultus;* and the third, *praeceps.* — **in austrum cessit**], "yielded to the south wind," i.e. this at length prevailed over all the others. — **humidis terris**], "on account of the low (moist) lands." This was especially so on the coast. *Humidis* is a happy conjecture of Halm for *tumidis.* — **saxis . . . infestas**], "rendered unsafe by projecting rocks and concealed shallows." Observe the two different constructions (abl. and acc. with *per*) to express the same causal relation. This is characteristic of Tacitus, who always aims at variety (see 1 : 64). — **manantes**], "flowing" "flooded."

24. **Et truculentia . . . Germania**]. *Quanto* affects this clause also ("by how much Germany excels in rigor of climate"). In the following member of the comparison, for the sake of variety, *tantum* is used, instead of the usual *tanto* (see Intr. 97). The description of this calamitous sea-voyage is quite as vivid as that of the land-march of Vitellius along the same coast (1 : 70). — **vasto et profundo**]. Agreeing with *mari,* to be supplied from *mare* which follows. — **toleraverant**], "had sustained," "kept alive." — **terram**]. For government, see Intr. 25, *c.* — **eodem . . . oppeteret**], "might seek (death) by the same sea." The verb has a pregnant meaning. Germanicus considered himself the cause (reum) of the calamity, and as deserving the same death as the others. — **intentis vestibus**], "with spread garments," i.e. for sails. Military cloaks were sometimes made to serve for sails (H. 5 : 23).

59. **Aegyptum**]. In the acc., as though it were the name of a city (see Intr. 23). — **cognoscendae antiquitatis**]. A causal gen. as in 1 : 3; 3 : 9, 27; 4 : 2. — This account of the visit of Germanicus to Egypt is interesting, as showing that the same air of mystery and hoary antiquity hung over its history then as now. The visit was made on his way to the eastern command, which had just been assigned him. — **sine milite**], i.e. without a military guard. — **pedibus . . . amictu**], i.e. with the Greek sandal and mantle, instead of the Roman shoe and sagum. — **quamvis**]. If Scipio did this in time of war, it was a less offence in Germanicus to have done it in

time of peace. — **sponte principis**], "by permission of the prince" (i.e. the emperor). For the gen. with *sponte*, see Intr. 41. — **ingredi**], "to enter it" (i.e. Egypt). — **equites illustres**] = *equites insignes, primores, aut dignitate senatoria* (Draeger). — **seposuit**], "reserved to himself" (see H. 1 11). — **Claustra**], i.e. Alexandria, with the port of the adjoining island of Pharus, and Pelusium at the eastern mouth of the Nile. (See H. 2: 82; 3: 48.)

60. **Nondum comperto**], "it not yet having been ascertained," i.e. that his departure was complained of by the emperor. *Comperto* is abl. absolute, the subject being implied in the connection (see 1: 66; Intr. 112). — **oppido a Canopo**]. For the anastrophe of the preposition, see Intr. 116. *d.* — **Nilo**], "by the Nile," "on the Nile." He passed up by the westernmost or Canopic mouth. The legend referred to is that of Menelaus returning to Greece after the Trojan war. — **Os dicatum Herculi**]. Depends on *visit.* — **in cognomentum adscitos**], "were adopted into his name," "received his name," i.e. brave men who followed in after years (*postea*) were also called Hercules. — **structis . . . complexae**], i.e. obelisks covered with hieroglyphics relating to certain facts of history, as interpreted by one of the priests. — **habitasse**], "to have dwelt there," "to have inhabited the country." — **Vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana**]. Notice the gen. of the proper name in one case, and the adjective form of it in the other, apparently for variety. — **Bithynum, Lycium mare**], i.e. the Euxine Sea, and that part of the Mediterranean Sea between Rhodes and Cyprus. — **jubentur**], "they are required" (i.e. to pay).

61. **Certamine**], "from the ambition," "rivalry." The Pyramids of Memphis, north of Thebes, are here referred to. — **lacus**]. Lake Moeris, south of the Pyramids. — **atque . . . altitudo**], "and at other points its narrows and profound depth." — **nullis spatiis**], "by no measures," i.e. the depth of the Nile was so great at points that it could not be measured. — **claustra**], "the limit." Syene was formerly the limit of the empire in that direction; but in the time of Tacitus Trajan had extended the empire to the Red Sea. This shows that the Annals were published by Tacitus about A.D. 116, as in 117 Hadrian had extended the empire still farther east.

82. **Ut ex longinquo**], "as is usual with what comes from a distance," Germanicus had sickened and died at Antioch in Syria. — **dolor . . . questus**]. For *et* in the third member, see Intr. 61. — **hoc egisse . . . sermones**], "this the secret conferences of Augus-

ta with Plancina had accomplished," i.e. the sending of Germanicus to a distant command in the east, and appointing Piso to the government of the province of Syria within his district, to annoy and thwart him. Augusta was the state name of Livia, and Plancina was the wife of Piso. — **filiorum**], "of sons," i.e. of rulers This had been truly said of Drusus, who had been suspected by Augustus, and was now true in the case of his son Germanicus, who was the adopted son of Tiberius. — **complecti**], "to be embraced." Infin. pass. depending upon *agitaverint* ("because they had advocated the principle that the Roman people should be embraced," &c.). — **sumpto justitio**], "public business having been suspended;" as was usual in the case of a public mourning. — **quamvis leviter audita**], "however casually heard." — **moliuntur fores**]. That they might offer prayers and sacrifices. — **rursum ereptum**], i.e. Germanicus. The dissipation of the false report of his recovery was to them like a second death.

83. **Saliari carmine**]. The chant of the Salii, an ancient order of priests who had charge of the sacred shields, and bore them through the city once a year with songs and dances. — **locis**], i.e. in the seats of honor in the theatres. The ceremonies of the Augustan college of priests took place in the theatre (see 1 : 54). — **praeiret**], "should precede," i.e. an ivory bust of Germanicus should be exhibited in a procession among those of the gods at the beginning of the games in the Circus Maximus. "Pompam eam describit Dionys. Hall. VII. 72" (Doed). — **flamen**], i.e. of Augustus. — **sepulchrum**]. This was merely an honorary cenotaph; his body was burned, and his ashes carried to Rome (see 3: 1). — **Epidaphnae**], "quod est suburbium Antiochae" (Doed). — **Censeretur**], "was voted to him," i.e. by the senate. Tiberius, however, who held a negative on their proceedings, decided that it should be only like that appropriated to other authors. "Scripserat enim Germanicus *Arata*" (Doed.). The likeness of the author was cut in the shield (see Recker's Gallus, page 20, note 7). — **fortuna discerni**], "is distinguished by fortune," i.e. by the nature of the case; eloquent writings, he contends, are not a distinct class of writings. — **equester . . . dicebatur**], "the equestrian order named what was called the division of the juniors in the theatre (cuneum), the division of Germanicus." — **imaginem sequerentur**], "should follow his image," i.e. in the annual procession at their review before the censor (see Liv. 9 : 36).

BOOK III.

1. **Corcyram insulam**]. At the entrance of the Adriatic Sea, in a south-easterly direction from Brundusium, which was the chief harbor in Italy on the eastern side, from which there was a much travelled road to Rome. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, had just arrived at this island from Antioch, with the ashes of her deceased husband, in the winter of A.D. 20. — **violenta luctu**], "deeply affected by grief." — **plerique**], "very many:" the common meaning in Tacitus. — **officium . . . rati**], "thinking it duty to the prince," i.e. Germanicus, who had been the heir apparent. — **proxima maris**], "the parts next to the sea," i.e. the land bordering on the sea; the sea-coast, as we say. So generally in Tacitus, as: proxima litorum, H. 3:42; proxima fluminis, H. 5:16. — **quid tempore foret**], "what would be suitable to the occasion," viz. on her landing (egredientem). *Foret* is subjunctive in the indirect question. — **duobus cum liberis**], viz. Caligula and Julia (Draeger). — **defixit oculos**], "she cast down her eyes," i.e. from grief and modesty in the presence of so great a crowd. — **proximos**]. Her friends. — **obvii . . . dolore**], "those just arriving and fresh in grief." These grieved more than her retinue.

2. **Fungerentur**]. Takes the acc. here, as in Ann. 4:38. Not uncommon, says Draeger, in both the ante- and post-classical periods (see Intr. 25). — **incompta . . . fasces**], see 1:24. Reversed fasces indicated authority gone, and hence were appropriate at the funeral of those who were entitled to have them. — **ubi . . . transgrederentur**], "where they passed through colonies," i.e. on their way to Rome from Brundusium. *Ubi, cum, ut,* and *quoties* often take the subj. as denoting a *repeated* action (Intr. 88; M. 359). — **pro opibus loci**], "according to the means of the place," i.e. they burned more or less costly garments, according to their means. — **diversa**], "off the route." — **Claudio fratre**]. A younger brother of Germanicus, son of Drusus, and afterwards emperor. But the Drusus, who accompanied the brother and children of Germanicus, was his cousin, son of Tiberius (see 1:3).

3. **Diurna actorum scriptura**], "in the written journal of acts" (sometimes called *diurna populi Romani*, or *diurna urbis acta*), i.e. the

journal of public transactions, preserved probably in the archives of state. The author says he found nothing in these records about any part (officio) which the mother of Germanicus took in the funeral services; while besides (*super* for *praeter*, Intr. 55) Agrippina, Drusus, and Claudius, the names of his other relatives also were found there (praescripti sint). — **facilius crediderim**], "I could more easily believe." A perfect subj. is often used thus to express a present thought in a less positive way (like our potential mood), and with greater vivacity, as though it were already past (see 4:32). — **ut par . . . videretur**], "that their grief might seem equal, and that, by the example of the mother, the grandmother and uncle might seem to be detained." *Videretur* is to be supplied with *maeror*.

4. **Tumulo Augusti**]. In the Campus Martius, as is evident from what follows. Torches (*faces*) were carried at funerals, even in the daytime (Dic. Antiq.). — **sine insignibus**]. "Id est, sine toga, sine annulis, sine lato clavo" (Doed). — **concidisse**], "had perished," i.e. in the death of Germanicus. The infin. depends on *clamitabant*. The promptness and openness of this cry showed a disregard of their present rulers (imperitantium), who would be likely to be offended by it. — **illi**], "to her."

5. **Ipsum . . . intravisse**], i.e. Augustus in person met Tiberius at Ticinum (Pavia), returning from Germany with the body of Drusus, and accompanied it to the city. — **quanto**]. *Magis* is omitted (see 1:68). — **nisi . . . via**], "except in the journey of a single day," i.e. from Tarracina to Rome (sec. 2). — **propositam . . . effigiem**], "a statue laid upon a bed," i.e. representing the deceased.

6. **Non enim . . . civitatibus**], "for the same things are not becoming (i.e. in the exhibition of grief, &c.), for princely men and an imperial people, as for moderate families and states." *Principibus* and *imperatori* are used here as adjectives (see Intr. 46). — **convenisse . . . solatia**], "that lamentation had ensued upon the fresh grief, and from mourning there had come reliefs." Notice the distinction between *dolor*, *luctus*, and *maeror*. — **quia . . . suberat**]. The use of the indic. interrupts the indirect discourse (Intr. 81).

This is the end of Germanicus, one of the most interesting characters in Roman history. He died at the age of thirty-four, A.D. 19.

BOOK IV.

1. **Florentis domus**], "of a prosperous family," depending upon *annus*. It was to him the ninth year of an orderly state and prosperous family. The year was A.D. 23. — **saevientibus . . . praebere**], *i.e.* to such as Sejanus, who gradually acquired the power of the emperor, and exercised it with violence and cruelty. — **supra memoravi**]. See 1: 24; 3: 72. — **Facinore**], i.e. the destruction of Drusus (the heir-apparent) by poison, that he might have a clear field for himself. — **sectatus**], "having followed," "attached himself to." — **stuprum . . . dedisse**], "that he had given debauchery for sale," "had sold debauchery," i.e. had procured it for the debauchee here named (Intr. 31, *a*). — **quippe . . . victus est**], i.e. he was finally crushed by Tiberius by the same arts, viz. by cunning arts, implied in *solertia*. — **cujus pari exitio**], "by whose equal destruction," "equally by whose destruction." His life and the means required to effect his destruction were equally injurious to the state. — **summa apiscendi**], "of obtaining the supreme power" (*summa* is neuter plural). The simple verb is used for the compound (**adapiscendi**), as is so common in Tacitus.

2. **Vim . . . intendit**], "the power of the prefectship, before small, he increased." He was prefect of the pretorian cohorts, and under various pretexts, of discipline, &c., obtained permission to bring them together into a single camp outside (procul) of the city, i.e. between the Viminal and Colline gates. — **oreretur**]. The common predicate of *fiducia* and of *metus*. — **Ornandi**]. For this elliptical gen. of the gerundive, see Intr. 107. His canvassing among the senators was for the purpose of procuring honorable and profitable appointments for his friends. — **effigies ejus**], "his statues." This is acc. plural, the subject of the infin. *coli*.

32. **Nemo . . . contenderit**], "no one would compare," "let no one compare" (see 3: 3; H. 2: 76). The perf. subj. is often used thus in independent sentences, as a softened indic. or potential present or imperf. (see Intr. 16; also Zumpt's Gram. § 527). — **egressu libero**], "with copious fulness," "in a free style." Their materials enabled them to do this, while his labor, he says, was in a contracted sphere (*in arto*).

33. **Consociata**], "compacted," i.e. a limited democracy, made up of popular and aristocratic elements, is ideally the best, but scarcely practicable. — **plebe valida**], "when the common people had the power." The abl. absolute is often equal to *cum* with a finite construction. (Intr. 110; A. & G. 142, *b.*, note). It is used here for variety, as the following clause has the construction with *cum*. The *plebs* were the lower classes, without full political rights, and the *vulgus* the *mass* of *common* or *vulgar* people; while the *populus* included in a general way all classes, but specifically the more respectable classes below the knights, senators, and nobles. — **temperanter haberetur**], "might be governed with moderation." To do this required a knowledge of the common people. — **neque alia . . imperitet**], "nor the Roman state being other than if a king reigned." They were under the nominal government of the senate, directed by a prince (Tiberius); but the prince was really absolute ruler. — **in rem fuerit**], "it will have been useful," i.e. to relate the events of such a government. Because, as the author goes on to say, most men learn to distinguish the useful from the injurious, not by natural insight (prudentia), but from what happens to others. **ceterum . . . ita**], "but although they will profit, yet." *Ut* has a concessive sense here (Intr. 106). — **easdem exitu**], "the same in issue," and hence tiresome. — **obvia**], "with an obtrusive," "ever-recurring" (sameness). — **laetius extuleris**], "should you excessively extol." Used like the potential mood with us (see 32). — **ob . . . morum**], "on account of the likeness of their conduct." They would think, therefore, that they were aimed at, although not at all related to the persons censured. — **ut nimis . . . arguens**], "as too sharply implying the contrary." Hence it awakened their hostility. — **sed . . . redeo**]. This interesting account of his Annals is an apologetic digression from the mass of dry materials which he found himself confined to in the reign of such a prince as Tiberius.

67. **Dedicatis . . . templis**]. Some time during the previous year (A.D. 26), Tiberius had left Rome to dedicate temples to Jupiter in Capua, and to Augustus at Nola, in Campania (sec. 57). His real motive, as Tacitus thinks, was to gratify his cruelty and lust at a distance from Rome. The tyrannical and cruel acts of his government could thus be charged upon the agents which he employed to execute them. In pursuance of the same misanthropical purpose, he now removes to the Island of Capreae, a still more remote and retired place, where, and in other places in that region, he remained

in his gloomy seclusion till his death at Misenum, ten years later, in A.D. 37.—**subsidia**], "aids," "conveniences;" such as roadsteads, protection from winds, and the like.—**gnaro custode**], "with an experienced captain."—**aestas . . . obversa**], "the summer (there) was exposed to the west wind."—**pulcherimum sinum**], i.e. the Bay of Naples. It was disfigured at a later period (i.e. under the reign of Titus), as is here implied, by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii, just back of it.—**Telebois**]. "Virg. Aen. VIII. 735: Teleboum Capreas cum regna teneret" (Doed.).—**nominibus et molibus**], "with names and vast structures."—**quanto . . . resolutus**]. The comparison here is wholly implied in *quanto* and *tanto*, the adjectives remaining in the positive degree (see Intr. 97). The particular *malum* which he was now bent upon in his leisure (otium) seems to have been the destruction of Agrippina and Nero (the wife of Germanicus and her oldest son), which he soon after accomplished through Sejanus. This Nero was brother of the emperor, Caligula, and uncle of Nero, the emperor.—**acrius turbabat**], "was more intensely exciting," i.e. the suspicion of Tiberius (suspicionum temeritas).—**quis additus miles**], "to whom a soldier being attached," i.e. as a spy, "to report messages and visits, their public and private movements."—**struebantur**], "those were prepared," "secretly instructed," i.e. by Sejanus and Tiberius, who were plotting their ruin. Either of the courses, which they were instructed to recommend, as an appeal to the army or to the people, would have proved their ruin. And, although they spurned to take either of these courses, as the author goes on to say, they were accused of secretly getting ready to do so (*pararent*), in the hope of succeeding by the appeal.

BOOK VI.

56. **Non . . . deserebat**]. His hypocrisy held out better than his body or its powers,—a characteristic and cutting sarcasm on his character. The allusion is to his feigned appearance of health, notwithstanding his evident and increasing feebleness. His dark and deceitful ways clung to him to the last.—**quaesita . . . comitate**],

"with now and then an assumed smile."—**eum . . . supremis**], "that he is approaching his end."—**non quidem . . . solitus**]. Tiberius was a man of splendid physique, and prided himself in taking care of his own health (valitudines).—**officii**], i.e. felt of his pulse in taking his hand to kiss it, as Suetonius says in his Life of Tiberius. And yet, as the author goes on to say, he did not deceive him as to his purpose.—**quasi . . . tribueret**], "as if he would do honor to his departing friend," i.e. this extra feasting was apparently in honor of his friend, Charicles, about to leave on business (ad negotia digrediens). *Amici* here is in the gen. governed by *honori*, instead of being in the dat. governed by *tribueret* ("for the honor of," instead of "for honor to," &c.).—**cuncta**], i.e. all about his approaching death, as Charicles had announced it to Macro, the successor of Sejanus as prefect of the pretorian guard, and confidant of Tiberius.—**interclusa . . . explevisse**], "he was believed to have completed his mortal course by the ceasing of his breath." Tacitus is profuse in his variety in expressing the idea of death. (See A. 1: 3, 5; H. 1: 41; 4: 11).—**Caesar**], i.e. Caius Caesar (Caligula), just named, the expectant successor of Tiberius.—**a summa . . . expectabat**], "from the highest hope was expecting (fearing) the worst," i.e. as a consequence of his imprudent haste to get possession of the government.

57. **Pater ei Nero**], i.e. Tiberius Claudius Nero.—**Multis aemulis**]. See 1: 3, 4.—**vacuos principis penates**], i.e. without an heir apparent, through the death of the rivals just referred to.—**duodecim annis**]. The length of time expressed by the abl., instead of the more common acc. Thus quite frequently in Tacitus, as: ita quatuordecim annis a Nerone assuefactos (H. 1: 4).—**morum . . . diversa**], "there were varying periods in his conduct and character." These periods the author proceeds to state.

This is a fitting close to the sketch of the character of Tiberius, which is brought out with masterly touches, here and there, through the whole course of these first six books of the Annals.

BOOK XV.

38. **Forte an dolo principis**]. Nero was a man of trifling, reckless character, utterly unfit for his position as emperor, leading a dissolute and disreputable life among actors, musicians, and the abandoned classes; and hence liable to the suspicion of having burned the city in his shameless folly and madness. Rome had been wholly burned by the Gauls (Senones, 41), three hundred and sixty-five years after it was founded (B.C. 389), and portions of it in 780 and 789; A.D. 27 and 36 (see 4: 64; 6: 45). The present burning, however, though only about two-thirds of the city were destroyed, was a much greater calamity (clades) than had yet befallen it, on account of the great extent to which the city had now attained; it being about thirteen miles in circuit, and containing probably a million and a half of inhabitants, and a very large number of costly public buildings, with works of art and other forms of wealth innumerable.—**circi**], i.e. the *Circus Maximus*, in the south-western part of the city, situated in the level space between the Palatine Hill on the north, the Aventine on the south, the Cœlian Hill on the east, and the River Tiber on the west.—**quibus . . . inerat**], "in which was that *kind* of merchandise."—**assurgens . . . populando**]. For the change from the present part. to the gerund, see Intr. 119: 8.—**obnoxia**], "exposed," i.e. to the flames.—**enormibus vicis**], "with irregular clusters of houses." After the destruction of the city by the Gauls, it was rebuilt in great haste, and without much regard to order; so that, as Livy says (4: 55), it had the appearance of a city occupied, rather than of one divided.—**fessa . . . aetas**]. The reading is doubtful here; but the reference evidently is to the aged and to children. The description which follows of the bewilderment and confusion which attended the conflagration is very vivid and natural.—**diurni quoque victus**], "with the *loss* also of their daily food." *Omissione* is to be supplied from *omissis* in the previous clause.—**esse sibi . . . jussu**], "bawled out that they had authority, whether that they might plunder more freely or by command." *Sive . . . sive* leave it wholly undecided which hypothesis should be assumed as true. In large fires, desperate characters always make their appearance, further to trouble the scene.

39. **Qua . . . continuaverat**], "by which he had joined the palace and the gardens of Mæcenas. The imperial palace was built by Augustus on the Palatine Hill, and the gardens or park of Mæcenas lay to the east, in the Esquiline plain, to which Nero had extended it. — **cecinisse**], "sang," "enacted," i.e. as in opera. Nero was a famous singer and performer at the theatres (see 13 : 3 ; 15 : 33 and 48).

40. **Quia proruperat**], "because it had broken forth from the Aemilian estates of Tigellinus" ("loco ad Campum Martium extra urbem," Orel.). Tigellinus, prefect of the pretorian guard, was the odious instrument of Nero in his vices and persecutions (H. 1 : 72), and was suspected, probably, of having kindled the fire, in sympathy with Nero, who wished to build a new city for his own glory.

41. **Multa seniores meminerint**], "id est, facile meminisse possunt" (Orel.). These treasures of learning and works of art could not be replaced, in however great beauty (quamvis in tanta pulchritudine) the city might be rebuilt. Tacitus fully realized the greatness of the loss.

42. **Solita . . . vulgata**], "being long before customary and used in luxury," i.e. gems and gold. There were many of these, indeed, in his palace; but they did not equal (perinde . . . quam) the landscape ornaments of lawns, pools, &c., around it. This was called Nero's golden palace. — **gignendis aquis**]. The Pomptine Marshes were to furnish the supply of water to this impracticable canal.

43. **Ceterum . . . supererant**], "but what of the city remained after his house," i.e. besides the space occupied by Nero's palace. — **nulla . . . erecta**]. The whole space was not covered with buildings; but, as the author goes on to say, the blocks of buildings (vici) were distinct from each other, and the streets were widened, &c. — **insularum**]. These were tenement houses, which were now to have a porch or covered walk in front, built at the expense of the emperor. — **ruderi accipiendo**], "for receiving the filth." This, it appears, was sent from the city by boats to the marshes at the mouth of the Tiber. — **certa sui parte**], "in a certain part of them." The Gabian stone was found at Præneste. — **jam . . . ambirentur**]. Private individuals were no longer allowed the unrestrained use of water; but a board (custodes) was appointed to see that there was a good public supply, and that private families had conveniences (subsidia) for extinguishing fires; also that there were proper division-walls in their houses, between themselves and their neighbors.

44. **Qui fatebantur]**, i.e. that they were Christians. — **haud perinde . . . sunt]**, "they were convicted, not so much for the crime of the conflagration, as for their hatred of the human race." They were undoubtedly convicted *by* the hatred of the Roman race. The Christians, as having sprung from the Jews, and with them rejecting the corrupt polytheism of the surrounding nations, and recognizing an invisible King higher than Cæsar, shared with them also the hatred of the Romans, — as seen here, and also in the fifth book of our author's history, where he gives an account of the origin and customs of the Jews. They were just the subjects for such a wretch as Nero to select to bear the odium of having burned the city, in order to divert it from himself. — **aut crucibus . . . urerentur]**, "or nailed to crosses, or reserved for the flames, and that as soon as daylight had disappeared they should be burned as nocturnal torches." What refinement of cruelty on innocent persons, for the purpose of covering his own sins! — **quanquam . . . meritos]**, "although against guilty persons and those deserving extreme punishments," i.e. although viewed thus by the people. Tacitus evidently did not believe in their guilt, although he shared in the prejudices of the people against them.

HISTORY.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE. — The Annals of Tacitus originally closed with the reign of Nero. This monster of recklessness and vice, after a reign of some fifteen years, became so intolerable to the Roman people that, as Tacitus says, "they threw him from the public neck." This was in A.D. 68. The immediate occasion of his flight from Rome and self-immolation was the revolt against his government of Julius Vindex, propretor of Celtic Gaul, who declared in favor of Sergius Sulpicius Galba, military governor of a contiguous province in Spain, as successor to the principate of Rome. Galba accepted the nomination, and in due time started with his army for the city, to take possession of the government. His government was acknowledged at Rome, and he was made first consul in January, A.D. 69, at which time this history begins, although he had virtually been emperor since his nomination, and the flight of Nero in June of the previous year. Within a few weeks, however (i.e. January 15), he was murdered and superseded by Otho, as Otho in turn was superseded in about three months by Vitellius, and Vitellius within eight months by Vespasian. The History of Tacitus now extant (i.e. four books and the beginning of a fifth) contains little more than the record of this eventful year of civil war (A.D. 69). Originally his History covered the whole period to the death of Domitian (i.e. twenty-eight years), and is supposed to have consisted of fourteen books, making, with his Annals, thirty books of the continuous history of Rome for eighty-two years, from A.D. 14 to A.D. 96. And, as he states in the first section of his History that he had reserved for his old age the agreeable task of writing the history of the reigns of the two emperors immediately succeeding, viz. Nerva and Trajan, so we learn from his Annals (3: 24) that he had intended to preface the

whole by an account of the life and times of Augustus. These tasks, however, he did not live to accomplish. The History has the greater freshness and fulness, as being the record of contemporaneous events, while the Annals were made up from the meagre records of the past. Both exhibit the same striking peculiarities of genius. The History was published first, probably about the year A.D. 100, in the early part of the reign of Trajan.

Sec. 2. **Opus aggredior, etc.**]. This section is a sort of summary or table of contents prefixed to the history of the whole period, describing its general character, and indicating some of the leading events. The four princes who came to their end by violence (ferro) were Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian. The three civil wars (*trina* poetic for *tria*) were those between Otho and Vitellius, between Vitellius and Vespasian, and between L. Antonius and Domitian. In the general confusion incident to the civil wars just named, some of the subject peoples very naturally took up arms against the government, as the Sarmatians (see 1: 79; 3: 5; 4: 4, 54), the Dacians (3: 46; 4: 54), who inflicted as well as received defeats (cladibus mutuis). Of the rising of the Suevi there is no further mention in the history which is now extant. For the account of one pretended Nero, see 2: 8. As there were conflicting reports in regard to the death of Nero, various pretenders arose, as is usual in such cases. The most fertile shores of Campania were overwhelmed in the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in the reign of Titus (*urbes* is probably a spurious reading). The capitol was burned by the Vitellian soldiers in their conflict with those of Vespasian (3: 71). The slaughters on the cliffs or rocky islands (scopuli) were those of political criminals. Society being divided into bitter factions, the government corrupt and cruel, and carried on largely through spies, any sort of eminence in one, even in virtue, excited suspicion against him, as being dangerous to the wicked men in authority, and rendered him liable to be arraigned as such by some one of the troops of informers (delatores) hanging around the court, and among whom the highest honors and rewards of the state (sacerdotia, consulatus, &c.), were divided. Woe to the state where virtue is treated as a crime! The phrase, *agerent . . . terrore*, refers evidently to the violent and high-handed proceedings of these informers, who had obtained power at court (interiorem potentiam), and may be rendered "forced, overturned all things by hatred and fear." The second verb is added as

though the first was inadequate to express the degree of their violence. What a specimen of vivid, intense, and comprehensive narrative we have in this section! Words are used as sparingly and with as much weight as though they were ingots of gold,—*quot verba, tot pondera.*

3. **ut non . . . prodiderit**], "that it may not have produced even good examples." We should say, "that it did not produce." The fact asserted was a *real* one, and the author proceeds to name the examples; but by using the subj. mood it is presented more delicately as a bare *conception* or *possibility*, while the perf. indicates that the fact had been realized *in particular cases within the period then closed*, but not continuously, which would have required the imperf. subj. The subj. in subordinate clauses regularly accompanies *ut* denoting a result (Intr. 98; A. and G. 182, 1).—**supremae . . . necessitates**], "the extremities of renowned men were supreme;" as, for instance, want, exile, risk of life, &c. The "extremity itself" (ipsa necessitas) of course was death. The singular here differs from the plural very much as in our language. By the omission of copulatives and auxiliary verbs here, as in so many other places in Tacitus, the main ideas stand out more prominent, and the effect is greatly heightened (see Intr. 20 and 70–75).—**laeta . . . manifesta**]. A fine specimen of adversative *asyndeton* in pairs (see Intr. 74). The asyndeton is much used by Tacitus, and appears in all its forms (Intr. 71–75).—**non esse . . . ultionem**], "that our security is not a matter of concern with the gods, that our punishment is." This was shown by the terrible slaughters (cladibus) which they had suffered in the wars of the period. For the double dat., see H. 390.

4. **validum, aegrum**], i.e. strong or weak in their fidelity to the Roman government.—**casus . . . noscantur**], "that not merely the calamities and events may be known, which usually appear fortuitous, but their reason and causes also," i.e. that their dependence upon antecedent events may be seen. This is the philosophy of history. The author proposes, then, by way of introduction to his History, to sum up the elements of the situation and its immediate antecedents, as contributing to the elucidation of subsequent events; and this he proceeds to do in this and the next few sections, closing with the eleventh.—**evulgato imperii arcano**], "a new principle of the empire having been disclosed." Hitherto emperors had been made only at Rome, but Galba had been made emperor at the head of his army in Spain. Other armies, then, might make emperors of

their leaders, and thus secure for themselves the place of favor with the prince; which was soon done in various parts of the empire. Precedents are all-important in government.—**sed patres laeti**]. The senate was nominally the source of authority in the government, but was continually overawed and overruled by the emperor when present; hence they were delighted with their present freedom from this restraint by the temporary absence of the new prince. How these few concluding sentences of the section disclose the feelings of the various classes of citizens at Rome towards the government of the coming emperor!

5. **Miles urbanus**], "the city soldiery;" as opposed to those in the provinces, and embracing the pretorian guard, the city cohorts, and perhaps the armed watchmen. Their long-continued allegiance to the Julian dynasty (Caesarum) rendered them reluctant to submit to the government of Galba, who was merely a soldier of fortune, without any connection with the Cæsars. Henceforth Cæsar was merely an official name of the emperor, not a dynastic name.—**donativum . . . promissum**]. This had been promised by Nymphidius, joint prefect of the pretorian guard with Tigellinus at the close of Nero's reign, but was disowned by Galba. And in the three or four months which elapsed before the arrival of Galba in Rome, the pretorians had turned against him, and Nymphidius was even aspiring to secure the government for himself (imperium sibi molientis); in which attempt, however, he was crushed (oppressus).—**praeventamque gratiam**], "and that the place of favor (i.e. with the government) had been anticipated;" viz. by the legion which had made Galba emperor, and which accompanied him to Rome (i.e. the septima Galbiana, see 3:7). These circumstances, and certain personal peculiarities and sayings of Galba, here named, were all against him in the state of things which then existed.—**nec enim . . . erant**], "nor indeed were other things according to this standard." He was too straightforward and rigid for his times.

6. Of the persons named in this section, Titus Vinius was acting consul with Galba, and his chief adviser; Laco was prefect of the pretorian guard, having succeeded Nymphidius; and Cingonius Varro had supported the pretensions of Nymphidius to the throne.—**tardum Galbae iter**]. He was about three months on his way from Spain, arriving at Rome in September.—**tanquam innocentes**]. One is accounted innocent till proved guilty.—**infaustus omine**], "unfavorable in prognostic." Nero had formed one legion

from the marines (legio classica), which Galba retained in his service; but a multitude of other marines, whom Nero had held as reserves at Rome, and who naturally preferred this service to that of the navy, met Galba on his way to Rome, at the Mulvian bridge (sec. 87), and demanded to be continued in the land service. A fight ensued, in which a large number of them were killed, and the rest put under arrest. — **multi ad hoc numeri**], "in addition to this, many divisions." "A general expression for *vexilla, cohortes, manipuli, alae, turmae* (Heraeus). These Nero had recalled, after having ordered them east to the Caspian pass. — **unum aliquem**], "any one in particular" (see 13).

10. **Famosus**]. This word more commonly indicates an unenviable notoriety, like our word *famous*, but it seems here to mean simply "renowned," "distinguished." Mucianus, at this time military governor of Syria, became the chief agent of Vespasian in securing for himself the principate of Rome. — **sepositus**], "laid aside," "concealed." On account of the suspected displeasure (ira) of the emperor Claudius, he seems to have prudently retired from the public view for a while. — **prope ab exule**], "as near from an exile" (see 2:76). We use a different but equivalent expression; viz., "as little removed from." In his retirement, on the occasion referred to, he was as little removed from an exile, as he was from a prince under Vespasian. — **quoties expedierat**], "as often as he had entered upon an expedition." A use of the verb not uncommon in Tacitus, as: secum expedire jubet, H. 1:88. Here the verb is in the indic.; but, in the hypothetical case expressed in the previous sentence, *cum* denoting a *repeated* action is followed by the subj. (*vacaret;* see Intr. 88; M. 359; A. and G. 171, *b*). — **palam . . . audiebant**], "one would praise his public life, but his private life was of bad repute" (literally "heard itself unfavorably spoken of," see *audio*, Dic.). *Acta* is to be supplied with *palam*, which has the force of an adjective (Intr. 11). — **et cui . . . obtinere**], "and one better adapted to transfer an empire expeditiously than to hold it" (literally, "and one to whom it was to transfer an empire more expeditiously, than to govern it"). The subj. *fuerit* is regular here, it being a relative or adjective sentence. We have here (as also in the further account of Mucianus in 2:5) the description of an adroit and facile political manager. — **occulta fati**], "the secret workings of fate;" governed by *credidimus*. *Lege*, found in some editions, is a mere gloss. — **post fortunam**], "after his good fortune," i.e. after

his elevation to the principate. This acquiescence by Vespasian, without factious opposition, in the government of Galba, was one of the many things which prognosticated his own ultimate accession. The Flavian Dynasty (of Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian) is the main subject of this history; the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were transitory, and merely preliminary. It was but a year of civil war, — "that single long year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius," as he calls it in the Dialogue on Eloquence (17).

11. **Domui retinere**], i.e. to keep the province more directly under the government and influence of the emperor. The government and revenues of the different provinces were divided between the emperor and the senate. The other imperial provinces of any considerable importance were governed by *legati Caesaris*, taken from those who had been consuls or prætors, or from the senators, and their finances managed by *procurators*, who were either knights or freedmen; but Egypt was governed by a prefect (see 3:74), appointed by the emperor from the knights, with the powers of its former kings (loco regum). The dignity of the office, therefore, was wholly due to the appointment of the emperor, and not to any previous dignity of the appointee, which made the government more directly dependent upon him. The reason for this arrangement is more fully given in Ann. 2:59. — **ejusdem nationis**], i.e. one of a family of Roman knights belonging in Egypt (see Ann. 15:28). — **insciam . . . ignarum**], "not acquainted with," "not accustomed to submit to." — **domini minoris**], "of a petty master," i.e. of Macer. On the death of Nero, Macer, governor of Africa, had endeavored to produce a revolution at Rome in his own favor by cutting off the supply of grain (sec. 7), and had been put to death by Galba for this attempt. The province of Africa proper embraced merely the territory of ancient Carthage. The two Mauritaniae (i.e. Cæsariensis and Tingitana) were immediately west of the province of Africa. Raetia was north of the Alps in the Tyrol region, and Noricum immediately east of it. These and some other small provinces were governed by procurators of the emperor with but a civil *posse* of soldiers (*procuratoribus* here, without *ab*, is regarded as in the dat., M. 250). — **inermes provinciae**], "the provinces without armies." Besides Italy, which was governed directly from Rome, these were such as the Gallic provinces, which were overawed by the German armies on the Rhine, Greece, &c. These last two classes of provinces followed the neighboring armies

in their political preferences. — **annum . . . supremum**], "a year the last to themselves, and almost fatal to the republic."

29. **Mox . . . raperetur**]. Otho had been taken by the pretorians to their camp, and declared emperor by them, in place of Galba. — **pro gradibus domus vocatos**], "them called before the steps of the palace," i.e. he addressed them *from the steps* of the palace, they standing *before* them. *Pro* refers to the position of those addressed, rather than to that of the speaker, as usual in Tacitus (see sec. 36: *pro vallo*). — **Caesar adscitus sum**], "I have been adopted a Cæsar." Galba had just adopted Piso as his successor, which was the recognized principle of transmitting the imperial power at Rome. — **ut qui . . . discam**], "as one who having already experienced adversity may very well know" (for the subj., see H. 501; A. and G. 182, 1). A repetition of *discat* is implied with *cum maxime* ("as when one learns most effectually," see 3 : 4). — **patris**], i.e. Galba, his adopted father. — **proximi motus**], i.e. the movement of Vindex, which resulted in the expulsion of Nero and the elevation of Galba (sec. 2). There was no civil war on the occasion, though many soldiers were slain by Galba when approaching the city (sec. 6).

30. **Imperatoris**]. Otho had been a boon companion and confidant of Nero. — **mereretur**], "should he deserve." The subj. of surprise or doubt after *ne* (habitune), M. 451, *a*. — **falluntur . . . imponit**]. And how many are thus deceived all over the world! — **nemo . . . exercuit**]. A profound maxim. One who acquires power by wicked arts, not only shows his sympathy with wickedness, but becomes so entangled with wicked men that he cannot shake them off, if he would (for example, Napoleon III.). — **Vestra**]. In the abl., agreeing with *causa* understood, and governed by *interest*. (H. 408). — **Legionum seditio**]. He was addressing the pretorian cohort which kept guard at the palace, and, to please them, contrasts their fidelity with the want of it in the legions which served in the provinces. *Legionum*, therefore, is emphatic, and hence stands first in its sentence. — **transfugae et desertores**], "runaways and deserters," i.e. those who had gone over to Otho and proclaimed him emperor. — **innocentibus**]. Agrees with *vobis* to be supplied with *pro caede principis* ("to you for the murder of a prince, than to you innocent"). *Perinde . . . quam* ("equally as," "the same as"), a favorite mode of comparison in Tacitus (see Ann. 1 : 9; M. 444). This speech put into the mouth of Piso is calm and dignified, in perfect keeping with the character ascribed to him by Tacitus.

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40. **Lugubri prospectu**], "on account of the sad sight," i.e. of the aged emperor struggling through the surrounding crowd. Galba, having heard of the proclamation of Otho as emperor at the pretorian camp, was making his way to the forum to rally the people in his defence. The forum was surrounded with temples and *basilicae*, the latter being buildings furnished with double colonnades, and used both as courts of justice and places for exchange. — **quale . . . silentium est**], i.e. a painful restless silence. — **audito . . . depulsi**]. Arsascidae was the dynastic name of all Parthian kings, whatsoever might be their individual names. There was a bitter hostility between the Romans and Parthians, as is here implied, which had been engendered by numerous conflicts. — **quo minus . . . successit**]. Kings never spare regicides, however much they may have been gratified by the assassination. This would be endangering their own life in turn.

49. **E prioribus servis**], i.e. one of his servants before his elevation to the principate. — **lixas calonesque**], "marketmen and baggage carriers;" generally found together (see 2:87, note). — **repertum . . . admixtum est**]. *Corpori* is dat. of community ("mingled with his body"). Sepulture with the Romans was generally by cremation, bodies being burned and the ashes preserved in an urn, which was deposited in a funeral vault (see Becker's Gallus, p. 110; also the word *funus* in Smith's Dic. Antiq.) — **emensus**], "having outmeasured," i.e. outlived. He was seventy-three years old (tribus et septuaginta annis, "in three and seventy years;" abl. of time *how long*, not uncommon in the later writers, M. 235, obs. 3). — **publicae avarus**], "niggardly of the public funds." Not a very common fault in rulers. — **sine reprehensione patiens**], "tolerant without fault." The preceding verb (incidisset) is in the subj. with *ubi*, as the following *forent* is with *si*, expressing a *repeated* action (Intr. 88). — **metus temporum**], "the fearful nature of the times," i.e. the danger in making one's self eminent made slothful inactivity appear wisdom. Tacitus greatly excels in these brief sketches of character. This of Galba is a perfect gem.

50. **Superioris Germaniae**]. The upper and lower Germany of the Latin writers were both on the Gallic side of the Rhine, the former nearer its source and south of the latter, which was nearer its mouth in the German Ocean. Vitellius was commander of the lower army (which consisted of four legions), whose revolt had been kept secret at Rome. — **duos . . . deterrimos**]. Otho was notorious

for his licentiousness (impudicitia), and Vitellius for his sluggishness and gluttony. — **maerere**]. Historical infin. so common in Tacitus. — **saevae pacis**], i.e. under Galba, who was a stern ruler. — **repetita**], "being recalled." Abl. absolute with *memoria*. — **Perusiam ac Mutinam**]. Places where the last battles of Augustus were fought with his enemies in his progress to absolute power. For the other historical allusions here, see Ann. 1 : 1, 2. — **in templa ituros**], i.e. to offer up prayers for their success. — **deteriorem . . . vicisset**]. Both were about equally bad, and had such elements of character that success would be sure to make the one who conquered worse than before. — **omnium ante se**]. Like the Greek, *μόνος τῶν ἄλλων*; or the English, "this *among other things*." An idiomatic solecism.

51. **Caeso Vindice**]. Vindex having revolted from Nero and declared for Galba, the army of the upper Rhine, at that time under the command of Virginius (who was soon superseded by Hordeonius Flaccus, sec. 9), treacherously fell upon him and destroyed him. — **ingenia loci coelique**], i.e. in northern Germany, a low, marshy country, abounding in fogs and much colder than at Rome. The motives in the minds of the soldiers for renewing the war are admirably set forth. — **centurias**]. For the structure of the Roman army, see Ann. 1:16, note. — **Sequanis Aeduisque**]. These were neighboring Gallic tribes. The words are in the dat. governed by *infensi*. — **super . . . irritati**], i.e. besides (*super* for *praeter*, Intr. 55) their own avarice and arrogance, they were irritated by the self-confidence (contumacia) of the Gauls, who boasted to the German armies of the favors which they had received from Galba, in lightening their taxes and granting them Roman citizenship (publice donatos). — **pro Nerone**]. Lyons (Lugdunensis colonia) was naturally in favor of Nero, as he had assisted its inhabitants in repairing their loss by a disastrous fire (Ann. 14:13).

61. **Adjuncto . . . exercitu**]. The two German armies (the upper and the lower) had already espoused the cause of Vitellius, and now, the British army having joined him, he makes his arrangements for the invasion of Italy and the capture of Rome. Valens, with his division, was to proceed south-westerly through Gaul by the way of Lyons, and enter Italy from the west by the Cottian pass in the Alps; while Caecina was to proceed directly south by a shorter route, and enter through the Penine ridges. — **cum aquila**]. The eagle was the standard of a legion, hence it is implied that the whole

of this legion accompanied Valens, but only detachments (electi) from the other legions. The cohorts and wings were auxiliary infantry and cavalry.—**ad . . . milia**], "about forty thousand." This is a summing up of the whole number of his forces just described, *ad* being merely an adverb, and the gender of *data* being determined by *milia*.—**tota mole belli**], "with the whole weight of the war," i.e. with all the remaining forces. The force under his immediate command is said in 2:87, to have been sixty thousand men.

62. **Diversitas**]. Many of the words employed by Tacitus were little used by the earlier writers, and it will be observed that a larger proportion of his words are those from which the corresponding words in modern languages are derived, indicating, perhaps, a gradual change which was going on in that direction (see 2:76, note). Tacitus does not seem to have been given to coining new words, but like other great geniuses in the use of language, as Shakspeare or Spenser, he sought his words from the whole compass of his native tongue, both old and new.—**trepident**]. In the subj. as expressing their particular view or conception of the case ("while, *as they conceived*, the Gallic provinces are alarmed").—**facto . . . consulto**]. Tacitus generally avoids nouns in *-tio*, expressing the abstract action, choosing, instead, as here, the concrete forms, on account of their greater force and vivacity.—**laetum augurium**], "as a favorable omen;" viz. the flight of the eagle before the army as it advanced. Tacitus does not disdain to notice such superstitious circumstances, but makes an admirable use of them to give variety and interest to his narrative (see Ann. 1:28).

BOOK II.

1. **struebat . . . exitio fuit**]. Titus, the son of Vespasian, now sets out for Rome to salute Galba on his accession to the principate, and the author sees in this, among other events, an indication (see 1:10) that fortune was moving to bring his favorite hero, Vespasian, to the throne. The sentence is characteristic of the author, and presents a fine specimen of that solemn grandeur which pervades his writings; personifying fortune and representing her as

arranging for his hero, in remote parts of the empire and with unseen hands, the initial movements and causes which were ultimately to lead to his accession to the government. The style, also, in its pregnant condensation, is characteristic of its author. The reigns of Vespasian and Titus were grateful (laetum) to the state, that of Domitian oppressive (atrox); while the reign of Vespasian was prosperous to him to the end, those of Titus and Domitian were cut short by violence (exitio). All this, in the Latin, is expressed, or rather implied, in ten words. As is so often the case in Tacitus, the idea, though not fully expressed by the words employed, is sufficiently implied to excite the mind to fill it out, and thus keep it constantly on the alert.—**ferebat**] (for *praeferebat*), "he presented," "offered." This use of the simple for the compound form of a word, is very common in Tacitus. In this he imitates the poets, and at the same time abbreviates his discourse (Intr. 13).—**principis**], i.e. Galba. He was old and without children (orbitas), and hence would be likely to adopt some one as a successor.—**urbe**]. In apposition with Corinthi (gen.), but in the ablative without *in*, as is quite common in such cases (H. 423, 2, 3; M. 296, obs. 2.). *Achaiae urbe*, however, are probably a gloss.—**utrimque**], "on both sides," i.e. whether he should proceed on his journey to Rome, or return to Judea. The reasons on each side are given in the sentences which immediately follow; where, it will be observed that *sive* (Vitello sive Othoni) is used for *aut* (Intr. 68).

2. **Spes vicit**], i.e. the hope or belief that, should he return to Judea without proceeding to Rome, he would be safe from harm, through the influence of his father, who would either join the victorious party (concedente in partes), or succeed to the throne.—**Berenices**]. The Bernice of Scripture, who was present with her brother, Agrippa II., king of Chalcis, at the speech of the Apostle Paul before Festus (Acts 25 and 26). She was daughter of Agrippa II. (i.e. Agrippa Herodes, grandson of Herod the Great), King of Judea, and had been the wife of her uncle, Herod, who had preceded her brother, Agrippa II., as king of Chalcis. She afterwards accompanied Titus to Rome.—**laeva maris**], i.e. what was the *left-hand* part of the Mediterranean Sea to him, coasting along (praevectus, for *praetervectus*) the shore of Achaia and Asia Minor, by the way of Rhodes and Cyprus. From Cyprus, however, he struck off in bolder courses (audentioribus spatiis) for Syria. *Audentioribus* is a fine specimen of the apt metaphorical use of terms in which

Tacitus abounds, and which give such life and energy to his discourse (see Intr. 122).—**haud fuerit longum**], "it will not take long," lit., "it will not have been long." This use of the perfect subjunctive as a potential present or imperf., or a softened future, in independent sentences, is common in Tacitus, and not uncommon in other Latin authors, especially in negative sentences with the impersonal *fuerit* (see 76, note; A. 3: 3). In such cases, a condition is usually implied in the context, as here (i.e. "if I should attempt it"). The temple was at Paphos, in Cyprus.

3. **Vetus memoria**]. The subject of *perhibet*, to be supplied from *perhibent* in the next line. Here the word to be supplied is obvious; but Tacitus, in his desire to be brief, often leaves words to be supplied from those of a quite different form and meaning, or to be inferred from the general sense, or by *zeugma* strains the meaning of a word in making it apply in different senses in a sentence, as: Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare (2: 80). Here *cumulare*, as applied to Caesarem et Augustum, must be taken in the sense, "they called him;" but in its application to *vocabula* it means "they heaped on him" (see Intr. 121).—**conceptam mari**]. The root of her Greek name (Ἀφροδίτη) means "sea-foam."—**accitam**], "was called in," "introduced from abroad." And as Cinyras founded the temple, and Tamiras introduced the service, it was arranged, the narrative goes on to say, that the posterity of both families should superintend the ceremonies; but at length, from the jealousy of the royal family, the services of the foreign family (hospites) were wholly dispensed with.—**precibus . . . adolentur**], "the altars are redolent with prayers and pure fire" (i.e. fire unmingled with the flesh and blood of victims).—**simulacrum deae**]. The image was simply a cone. The description, however, is such as to impart the air of mystery to it which the subject seemed to require. Such side accounts of interesting objects and circumstances are characteristic of Tacitus.

4. **Per ambages**], "through the enigmatical responses of the oracle."—**fiducia**], "as a security." Thus also *fides* in the next section.—**oppugnatione . . . reliqua**]. The siege of Jerusalem was left to Titus, while Vespasian set out for Rome to take possession of the government. Titus was about to commence the siege as the fragment which remains of the fifth book of this History closes.—**pervicaciam superstitionis**]. For the prejudice of the Romans against the Jews, see Ann. 15: 44, note.—**ut supra me-**

moravimus]. See 1 : 10.—**inexperti belli**], "untried in war." Emulation had excited Mucianus to exercise and drill his army (repulerat segnitiam), though he had enjoyed peace in his province. *Amor*, a conjecture of Orelli, follows *belli* in this edition, instead of *labor*, as in the earlier editions.

5. **Acer militiae**], "zealous of military service." The gen. instead of the more common abl. of *respect* (H. 399, 2; Intr. 44, a).—**invidia discordes**], "discordant from envy."—**industria . . . voluptates**]. A statement of the various means by which the forces were brought over (adsciscebantur) to the cause of Vespasian. For the change from the ablative case to *per* with the acc., see Intr. 60.

6. **praecipitibus**], "moving with rapidity."—**proximo civili bello**], i.e. by Vindex and Galba against Nero.—**statim**], "immediately," "to begin with," "at hand."—**continua**], "conterminous," "contiguous." Egypt was on the south of Judea, and the other provinces and forces here named were on the north and west of Syria.—**ipsum mare**], i.e. the Mediterranean Sea, which was especially *the* sea to the Romans.

7. **Suismet . . . periturum**]. Their vices were such that they were sure to be destroyed,—the one that was conquered, by the war, and the other through the stimulus given to his vices by his success (see 1 : 50, note). This and the preceding sentences show a deep insight into human nature. Tacitus was a profound political and social philosopher, thoroughly comprehending the motives and passions which actuate men, whether as individuals or in masses; and, as these are frequently brought to his view in the shifting scenes of history, there is scarcely a page where they are not brought out in his narrative, under one relation or another, and embodied in sentences so condensed and pointed as to give them the effect of aphorisms.—**mixtis consiliis**], "by united counsels." Vespasian and Mucianus had recently (i.e. since the death of Nero) come to an understanding that they would watch for a favorable opportunity to strike for the empire, as the others (i.e. their friends, the officers, soldiers, &c.) had done some time before this (olim).—**optimus quisque**]. The subject of *stimulabantur*, to be supplied from *stimulabat*. *Quisque* generally takes a plural predicate in Tacitus (see Intr. 17).

31. **Quo**], "by which," i.e. by their death. Otho took his own life, on his defeat by the forces of Vitellius at the battle of Bedria-

cum, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies; while Vitellius, after his defeat by the forces of Vespasian, and the taking of Rome, skulked away into a hiding-place from his enemies, whence he was dragged by a tribune, his hands tied behind his back, and finally killed amidst the taunts and jeers of the victors. — **huic**], i.e. to Otho, whose soldiers killed Galba. — **illi**], i.e. to Vitellius. He was too indolent for this, and entered upon the undertaking reluctantly, and only at the urgent solicitation of his generals (1 : 52–56). Notwithstanding the gluttony (ventre) and drunkenness (gula) of Vitellius, therefore, he was the less dangerous man of the two, being rather unjust to himself (inhonestus sibi) than dangerous to the state. — **conjunctis copiis**]. Caecina had just been repulsed by Spurinna, a general of Otho, in an attack on Placentia, and foiled by Paulinus and Celsus in an ambuscade near Cremona, before the arrival of Valens with his division. Now that the two divisions of the army of Vitellius had united on the Po, they were prepared to enter in earnest the contest with the forces of Otho for the possession of Italy and the government.

32. **Qua**], "on account of which (fame)." Paulinus was a general of great experience and ability, and had been specially confided in by Otho (see 1 : 90). He had been military governor (legatus consularis) of Britain under Nero (Agric. 14). — **tumeant**], "are in a ferment," "excited." This uneasiness finally culminated in the serious revolt, under Civilis (see 4 : 13, note). — **distineri**], "are kept off," i.e. prevented from coming to the aid of Vitellius. — **incursu . . . proelio**]. Valens had been badly worsted there by the fleet and forces of Otho (2 : 14). — **nullo maris subsidio**]. The sea was commanded by the fleet of Otho. — **ipso transitu exercitus**], i.e. by the passage of the armies of Caecina and Valens. **fluxis corporibus**], "with bodies relaxed," "enervated." The German soldiers formed the chief strength (genus . . . atrocissimum) of the Vitellian army. — **ipsis**], "to themselves," i.e. the party of Otho. — **objacere . . . Padum**]. The Vitellian forces were north of the Po, while the Othonians held the country south of it to Rome, to which region Paulinus would have them retire, and "protract the war." — **Placentiae . . . exploratum**], "had been learned by the defence of Placentia" (sec. 22). — **proinde duceret bellum**], "therefore he would protract the war." Subj. of indirect discourse (H. 529; A. and G. 188, 1). — **paucibus diebus**], "within a few days." In the ablative, as usual (H. 426; A. and G. 143, 1).

37. **Utriusque principis**], i.e. Otho and Vitellius. — **in medium consultare**], "should consult together," i.e. to agree on some suitable man for emperor. — **spatium**], "a pause." — **praecipua spe Paulini**], "with special hope on the part of Paulinus," i.e. that he would be selected for emperor. — **ut concesserim**], "as I would allow." For the perf. subj. as a potential mood in subordinate sentences, see Intr. 16. — **qua prudentia fuit**], "with what wisdom there was to him," "wise as he was." Hence he could not believe that he entertained such a project. — **legatos**]. *Legatus* means a deputy, either civil or military. A *legatus consularis* was a lieutenant or military governor of a province, generally with subordinate lieutenants under him. — **nisi . . . suis**], "unless corrupted and laid under obligation to them by their services."

38. **Securas . . . fuit**], "there was leisure to aspire to secure power," i.e. to a stronger form of government. For this the contests which are described in what follows took place. — **tentamenta**], "the preludes," i.e. with the Gracchi, the "turbulent tribunes." — **in dominationem**], "into a despotism" (see Ann. 1: 1). — **quaesitum**], "was it contested." Nothing short of the principate was aimed at by the factions after Pompey. — **civium legiones**], i.e. the legions of Pompey at Pharsalia, and of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. These were citizen legions, contending nominally for popular rights; and yet, he says, they did not lay down their arms, and submit the decision to a peaceful determination. They aimed at supremacy, just as much as did Julius and Augustus Cæsar, who crushed them. — **eadem**], i.e. *the same* which operated in the previously named cases. — **quod . . . factum est**], "that wars have been despatched by single blows, as it were, has arisen from the cowardice (inefficiency) of the princes," — referring, it would seem, particularly to such princes as Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who successively succumbed after a brief contest. The author shows here his usual admirable insight into men and governments.

39. **Visae . . . praefectum**]. By the departure of Otho, the chief command of the army devolved upon his brother; but the real *power and authority* was with the prefect of the pretorians, who were the original and chief supporters of the Othonian movement for the principate (1: 36, 87). This left Celsus and Paulinus with but the empty name of leaders (inani nomine ducum). Otho, to be out of harm's way during the impending battle, had retired to Brixellum, south of the Po, while the battle was north of it, between Bedriacum

and Cremona, — the former of these places being the head-quarters of the Othonians, and the latter of the Vitellians. — **praetendebantur**], "were merely a screen." — **ambigui**], i.e. were in doubt whom they should obey. — **qui . . . mallet**]. Notwithstanding the alacrity of the soldiers, they were disposed to discuss rather than obey the commands of their leaders (Tyler). *Mallet* is subj. after *qui*, as expressing the result (yet, so that they, &c.). — **pessimum . . . factum est**]. What they actually undertook to do was the worst which they could have done, viz. to proceed on a march of sixteen miles to take possession of the junction of the Adda and the Po (just south of the camp of the enemy, at Cremona), and this, too, heavy with baggage, and sure to be attacked before they could reach it and encamp there, by the fresh troops of Vitellius. Notwithstanding the objections of Celsus and Paulinus, however, they were proceeding towards that point (petebant), when, by a despatch from Otho, the battle was brought on at a bridge opposite Brixellum, at an island in the Po (sec. 33–35), which, according to Heraeus, was about four miles east of the junction (i.e. towards Bedriacum).

40. **Non omissuro**], "not likely to fail;" agreeing with *hosti*. — **vallum molientes**], "making a rampart," i.e. entrenching themselves. — **ubi . . . transibant**], "when conquered in argument, would recur to their right of command;" and so proceeded on till they were stopped by the despatch from Otho. *Vincerentur* is subj. as expressing a repeated action after *ubi* ("whenever," "as often as") (Intr. 88). — **Numida**]. The Numidians were fast riders, and hence much employed for couriers. *Sane* (indeed) implies that the views of Celsus and Paulinus corresponded with those of Otho.

41. **Operi pontis intentum**], i.e. the bridge at the island. Hence the battle must have been near this. — **exploratores . . . nuntiavere**], "the scouts announced that the enemy was near," i.e. the forces of Otho. The appearance of the pretorian tribunes was probably a *ruse*, though the author says it was doubtful what their object was. — **ordine agminis**]. This was different from the order of battle. — **a paucioribus . . . impingerentur**], "that by a smaller number of Othonians they might not be driven into the camp." The Vitellian horsemen had dashed forth before their time, and were badly repulsed by a smaller number of Othonian horsemen (see 3 : 2). — **mixta . . . lixae**], i.e. mixed in among the soldiers. — **fossis**]. These were evidently ditches by the sides of the road (3 : 21). Hence they were confined within the narrow limits of the road-bed.

—**aut relabebantur**], "or fell into" (the last line). The brave ones, on the contrary, rushed into the first line.

42. **Ementirentur**], "falsely stated." For the subj., see *mallet*, 39, note. —**per locos**]. Tacitus uses indiscriminately *loci* and *loca* in the same sense. The reference is to the character of the contest along the whole line.—**comminus eminus**]. Adversative asyndeton, so common in Tacitus (Intr. 74).—**collato gradu**], "foot by foot," "man against man." The contest was close and strenuous (Ann. 2 : 20).—**noscentes . . . certabant**], "knowing each other, and in the sight of the rest, they were contending for the result of the whole war." The narrative, in all the latter part of this section, is very spirited, the effect being greatly heightened by the omission of conjunctions, &c.

43. **Principiis**]. This word does not have its usual meaning here of "head-quarters," but the less common meaning of "front ranks" (as in Liv. 2 : 65; 3 : 22). The front ranks bore the eagle, which was at head-quarters when encamping.—**a parte alia**], i.e. in another part of the field. Here the fifth legion was Vitellian; the others, Othonian legions.—**fusa gladiatorum manu**]. This was the band of gladiators referred to in sec. 35. The Batavians, too, are probably what are called Germans there. Being released from service at the bridge, they attack the flank of the Othonians.

44. **Immensum id spatium**], i.e. twelve miles to their camp, which was four miles west of Bedriacum (39), and sixteen east from Cremona (40), and hence twelve miles from the bridge, which was four miles east of Cremona (39, note). All this distance they had to retreat in a disorganized condition.—**quo**], "on which account," i.e. on account of the distance and the obstructions in the way from dead bodies.—**neque . . . vertuntur**]. As those captured in civil wars were not to be made slaves, no quarter was given. Perhaps death was preferable to slavery.—**castra vitavere**], i.e. they skulked away from their camps, from fear of their own soldiers.—**multo adhuc die**], "much of the day still remaining." He had fled to the camp from a thoughtless fear.—**dispositis . . . militibus**], "night-watches having been stationed, and the soldiers restrained." This being done that they might not destroy their own men (suismet . . . saevirent), protected Titianus and Celsus. Annius Gallus had remained at the Bedriacum camp on account of his injury (sec. 33).—**pavidi**]. These were those with broken courage (fractus animus), i.e. all except the pretorians, who were still *truces*.

45. **Castrorum**], i.e. of the Othonians. They had returned to their camp at the fourth mile from Bedriacum, and the Vitellians had followed, and encamped within a mile of them. — **munimentum . . . victoria**], i.e. they were not intrenched. — **patuit vallum**], "the camp was thrown open," i.e. in order to receive the Vitellians. — **mali**], "of evil," "of loss." — **ceterum vulgus**], "the remaining vulgar" = *ceteri vulgus*. It was some honor to be buried, but more, as we see from the case of Orfidius, to be burned.

66. **Victarum legionum**], i.e. the legions of Otho, which had been conquered at Bedriacum by the forces of Vitellius. Vitellius had heard of this victory at Lyons, from which place he was now on his way to the scene of the battle on the Po. — **praecipua . . . ferocia**], "the ferocity of the members of the fourteenth legion being conspicuous." They contended that only detachments of their legion (*vexillariis*) were present in the fight at Bedriacum. From the account in sec. 43, it seems that they had been unexpectedly surrounded by a larger number. — **una tendere**], "should have quarters together," i.e. by themselves. For this meaning of *tendere*, see 1: 31. These cohorts were originally auxiliaries of the fourteenth legion, from which they had separated on account of a grave difficulty (1: 59; 2: 27). — **Augustae Taurinorum**], i.e. at Turin. — **sui cuique commilitones**], "their own soldiers to each," i.e. the soldiers of the cohorts, and the soldiers of the legions. To prevent further difficulties between them, Vitellius took the cohorts with him in his advance down the Po towards Bedriacum, and sent the legion to Britain by the Graian Alps, so as to avoid Vienne (near Lyons), which was hostile to his cause (see 1: 65). — **ferebant**], "were bearing," i.e. were for proceeding with their standards to Vienne.

67. **Separati**]. The *members* of the cohorts were divided into small companies; hence the masculine. This was done to make them less formidable; but they were soon honorably dismissed altogether from the service (honestae missionis). The pretorians had constituted the most formidable part of the forces of Otho (1: 87). — **arma . . . deferebant**], i.e. they continued gradually (imperf.) to accept their discharge, and deliver up their arms to the proper officers. — **spectaculum edere**], see Ann. 1: 22, note.

70. **Inde**], "thence," i.e. from Ticinum (now Pavia), where he had halted on his march to join his army. Having moved slowly down from Germany in the rear of Caecina and Valens, Vitellius had not arrived when the decisive battle of Bedriacum was fought,

and now he turns aside to survey the scene of the conflict. — **munere Caecinae**], i.e. his preparation for a gladiatorial show at Cremona (see 67). — **intra . . . diem**]. In about this time the scene would have attained its highest degree of repulsiveness, from the frightful appearance of the mangled remains and their offensive odor. — **nec minus inhumana**], "nor less revolting to human nature." Though now strewn with roses, altars, &c., in honor of Vitellius, it was strewn also with the revolting remains of the slain. **quae . . . fecere**]. The Vitellian forces, in turn, were beaten by the forces of Vespasian in a terrible fight on this same field (3 : 18), which might not have taken place there had they not favored the cause of Vitellius. — **praefecti**]. These were the commanders of the auxiliaries (troops furnished by allies), as the tribunes were of the Roman legions (see 82, note). There were, besides, prefects of camps and of cities. — **subiret**]. The common predicate of *fors*, *lacrimae*, and *misericordia*, the number of the verb being determined by that of the last noun. The subj. is used because the adjective sentence expresses a result flowing from the character of the persons referred to (H. 501; A. and G. 182, 1). — **at non . . . oculos**], "but not Vitellius turned his eyes," i.e. he showed no signs of pity, but surveyed the horrid scene with unblenched eye. His hard-heartedness is contrasted with the tenderness shown by those just named, and hence *non* is placed before his name. — **instaurabat . . . dis loci**], "offered a sacrifice to the gods of the place." What a solemn grandeur pervades this section!

73. **speculatores**], i.e. members of the body-guard of the emperor or general, and serving him in various ways, as spies, in carrying despatches, and the like duties. They probably brought despatches to the effect here named from Mucianus and Vespasian, as this was before the Vespasian movement began (see next section). — **adoleverit**], subj. in an indirect question (H. 525; A. and G. 190, 2). Such questions, from the very fact that they are indirect, are but conceptions to the writer. — **ut nullo aemulo**], "as though there remained no rival." The abl. absolute is often used thus by Tacitus with *ut*, *quamvis*, *etsi*, *quanquam*, and other concessive adverbs, instead of a regular concessive sentence with a finite verb (see 3 : 2; also Intr. 113; M. 428, Obs. 2). — **externas mores**], i.e. arbitrary, savage ways, abhorrent to the comparatively humane and civilized ways of the Romans.

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73. **speculatores**], i.e. members of the body-guard of the emperor or general, and serving him in various ways, as spies, in carrying despatches, and the like duties. They probably brought despatches to the effect here named from Mucianus and Vespasian, as this was before the Vespasian movement began (see next section). — **adoleverit**], subj. in an indirect question (H. 525; A. and G. 190, 2). Such questions, from the very fact that they are indirect, are but conceptions to the writer. — **ut nullo aemulo**], "as though there remained no rival." The abl. absolute is often used thus by Tacitus with *ut*, *quamvis*, *etsi*, *quanquam*, and other concessive adverbs, instead of a regular concessive sentence with a finite verb (see 3 : 2; also Intr. 113; M. 428, Obs. 2). — **externas mores**], i.e. arbitrary, savage ways, abhorrent to the comparatively humane and civilized ways of the Romans.

74. **et procul . . . vires**], "and the remote or nearly situated

forces." — **praeeuntem sacramentum**], "dictating the military oath to them." That the soldiers did not respond in repeating after him the oath of allegiance to Vitellius, showed that they were really committed to himself (ipsi paratus). — **quod transisset**], "because, *as he said within himself*, it had gone to Mœsia from Syria" (Tyler). The subj. presents the reason subjectively, as it lay in his own mind, i.e. as *conceived* by him; and not objectively as a mere matter of fact, which would have required the indic. (M. 357; H. 520). — **Illyrici**]. Including the provinces of Mœsia, Pannonia, and Delmatia, in which there were six legions (Heraeus). — **sexaginta aetatis annos**]. This was the age of Vespasian, and stands for himself, as an impressive representation of what he had at stake in going to war. Notice the concentrated wisdom of the closing sentences of this section.

75. **Versabatur . . . robur**]. Vitellius had the larger part of the eight German legions in his army. — **presenti . . . praemium**], "a reward for a crime committed in a moment, offered by the opposite party" (i.e. by an enemy, a rival). *Facinus* and *scelus* both indicate acts of marked and decisive character: the first as a daring act (usually criminal; but see sec. 50), the second as a wicked, malicious act. The allusion here, of course, is to assassination. For the assassination of Scribonianus, see Ann. 12:52.

76. **His pavoribus**]. For the use of the plural of abstract nouns by Tacitus, see Intr. 1. — **simul . . . adjiciatne**]. A personal instead of an impersonal construction, the principal clause being *attracted* into the construction of the subordinate clauses instead of: considerandum est, ipsene qui suadet adjiciat. Such a construction saves pauses, and hence favors rapidity of movement. It is often resorted to by Tacitus (see ceterae . . . sperabantur, sec. 74), and not unfrequently to the sacrifice of elegance. — **nec . . . expaveris**], "nor can you fear the appearance of flattery," i.e. in being thus nominated to succeed such a wretch as Vitellius. Both *expaveris*, and *fuerit* which follows in the next sentence, are in the perf. subj. to express, with greater vivacity and in a softened form, a present or future idea (M. 350, *b.*; see sec. 2, note). For the acc. with *expavescere*, see Intr. 25. — **a laude propius**]. See 1:10, note. — **non adversus . . . imaginibus**]. The emperors were deified after their death, hence Augustus is spoken of as *divi*, and being a very wise and able governor is aptly described by *acerrimam mentem;* as Tiberius, who was of a morose and suspicious turn, and

reigned from his forty-sixth to his seventy-eighth year, is described by *cautissimam senectutem*. Galba was of a noble family, and hence possessed statues of his ancestors; even these Vespasian had abstained from (cessisti), i.e. he did not attempt to deprive even Galba of the principate, though, like himself, not of the Julian family. *Fundatam*, also *firmatus*, *considerandus*, *absurdum*, *flamaverat*, and many other words common in Tacitus, have more of a modern form and sound than those generally used by earlier Latin authors (see 1 : 62, note).—**torpere . . . relinquere**]. The subject of *videtur*.—**tuta servitus esset**]. He was too eminent to continue to serve as a subject; he might meet from Vitellius the fate which Corbulo (an eminent general who served in the east, see Ann. 15) met from Nero, who murdered him from fear of his eminence.—**satis . . . timetur**], "whoever is feared is sufficiently eminent in the eyes of a prince who fears him." One of the striking aphorisms of Tacitus.—**desiderabilem . . . fecit**], i.e. Vitellius was so much more contemptible than Otho, that he had made the latter seem respectable.—**spargit . . . ministrat**]. Vitellius, fearing the factious influence among his soldiers of the forces which had adhered to the cause of Otho, sent some of the legions away to distant provinces, and disbanded the pretorian cohorts (sec. 66, 67); thus, as is here said, sowing, in the hostile feelings which they carried with them, new seeds of war.—**novem legiones**], four in Syria, three in Judea, and two in Egypt (Heraeus).

77. **Triumphale nomen**]. Vespasian was granted the form (nomen) of a triumph by the emperor Claudius for his brilliant military services in Britain (see 3: 44). At this time, no one but the emperor could have a real triumph.—**capax imperii**]. Titus was twenty-seven years old at this time.—**non cedere imperio ei**], "not to yield the government to him" (lit. "not to abstain from the government for him"). Mucianus as an agent and ally of Vespasian, and no rival, as he had just said, would certainly do this; nay, as he goes on to say, would even adopt his son as successor, were he emperor himself.—**victi**], i.e. the forces of Otho which had been conquered by the forces of Vitellius, and which, therefore, would naturally be on the side of Vespasian. Hence they are referred to in the next sentence by *hos*, as being nearer the speaker in thought and interest, though named first.—**aperiet . . . ipsum**]. War, like a heavy strain on the human system, discloses the weaknesses of a party. This is almost the exact counterpart of a pas-

sage in Demosthenes (Phil. 1:44). *Aperiet et recludet* are but an oratorical expansion of the same idea, as is not unfrequent in Tacitus, as: raptus et latrocinia; occultare et abdere, etc. — **nec mihi . . . saevitia**], i.e. he hoped as much from the faults of Vitellius, as from the virtues of Vespasian. — **qui deliberant, desciverunt**]. Another striking aphorism. A similar sentiment is found in Agricola, sec. 15.

80. **Ut . . . salutaturi**]. These were his night guards. Instead of saluting him as general, as he came from his chamber, they saluted him as emperor, and thus uttered the *prima vox*, which was so much desired. This was at Cesarea, the head-quarters of Vespasian in Judea, whither he had returned from Mount Carmel (sec. 78). — **cumulare**]. See sec. 3, note. — **mens . . . fortuna**]. The spell was broken by the *prima vox*, and the minds of his friends had passed from a state of anxious timidity to that of confidence of success and of the favor of fortune. The whole account shows an admirable knowledge of human nature. — **tantae altitudinis . . . caliginem**], "the darkness (confusion) of such an elevation," i.e. of the nomination to so high an office. — **militariter . . . excepit**], "having responded in a soldier-like way, he received all things favorable and abounding." When he had thus indicated that he did not decline the nomination, he received from all sides evidences of favor (laeta) and co-operation (affluentia), as, for instance, the promptness of Mucianus to bring his army to the oath of allegiance to him. — **id ipsum**], i.e. the news of what had thus taken place at the camp of Vespasian. — **arte quadem ostentator**], "a displayer in a chastened way." Mucianus was a skilful speaker and orator (sec. 5).

82. **veteranos**]. These were soldiers who had served the regular number of years, and were liable to be called into service again only on extraordinary occasions, like the present. — **multos . . . percoluit**], "he honored many with prefectships and procuratorships, and very many with the distinction of the senatorial rank." Prefects commanded auxiliary troops (arranged in cohorts). The office of procurator was a very honorable and profitable one (see 1: 11, note). — **dissimilans**], "disregarding," "passing over." See Agric. 19 for a similar sentiment. — **ne . . . quidem**], "not even." The word between these particles is always emphatic; here *ne . . . quidem* is co-ordinate with the preceding *neque* (see Intr. 66). — **exercitu meliore**], "with a better army," "of a better army," abl. of quality. — **claustra Aegypti**], "the keys of Egypt" (see Ann. 2: 59, note). —

ac nihil arduum fatis]. Another species of attraction, by which what is properly a subordinate causal sentence becomes an independent sentence, co-ordinate with those which precede it; instead of: ac quod nihil arduum esset fatis ("and because nothing was too difficult for the fates").

83. **Ipso spatio**], "by the very time occupied." — **vexillariorum**], i.e. detachments from the other legions, which served under a separate standard called *vexillum* (see 89). But *vexillarius* in the sing. means the bearer of the *vexillum* (2: 17). — **Byzantium**], "to Byzantium," now Constantinople. From this place he might take his troops north to Mœsia, or west to Dyrrachium in Illyricum and close that port, while he guarded the coast of Italy by his ships of war (longis navibus) in the Adriatic (versum in Italiam mare). Tarentum and Brundusium (the latter of which was connected with Rome by the Appian Way) were the principal ports on the eastern coast of Italy. With his forces thus arranged, Greece and Asia would be safe from any hostile attack from Rome, and Vitellius would not know what his particular designs were. — **sibi . . . peterentur**], "should be threatened by himself." As Mucianus was interested in securing these places, *sibi* is used here instead of *a se*.

84. **Eos**]. Attracted into the gender of the predicate noun (nervos). — **in cognitionibus**], "in trials." Money, not justice, determined these. — **ipso . . . obstinante**]. "Vespasian in the beginning of his reign not devoting himself with so much persistence (obstinante) as afterwards to obtaining exorbitant taxes (iniquitates)." Hence the abuse not only continued, but grew worse. Taxes are generally paid reluctantly, and often regarded as *iniquities* even when levied on just and uniform principles. Avarice was a prominent fault in Vespasian (see sec. 5).

86. **Bedriacensis pugnae**]. Having been conquered in this battle (41, 44), they were readily carried over to the cause of Vespasian by the influence (vi precipua) of their commander. — **falsi**], "of a fraud." He was party to forging a will (Ann. 14: 40). Banished by Nero, he was recalled and honored by Galba. He was the leading spirit and by far the ablest general in the army of Vespasian, fully sustaining the terse description of his character in the following sentences. — **raptor, largitor** (see Intr. 4). — **procurator**], the imperial tax-gatherer in the province. He could not have obtained this profitable office, had he remained a senator (1: 11). The governors (*legati*), being old and inefficient men, gave Fuscus greater in-

fluence. He favored the cause of Vespasian (aderat). — **pro . . . partis**], "instead of what was certain and already secure." — **aegrum**], "weak," "wavering," as for instance in Britain, Spain, and Gaul, whither they sent letters to stir them up to revolt from Vitellius.

87. **urbem . . . petebat**]. The author now turns to Vitellius, who, flushed with the victory over Otho at Bedriacum, was slowly moving from the Po to take possession of Rome, and growing more contemptible at every step, by halting at all the pleasant places on the route to gratify his self-indulgent and indolent spirit. This description of parallel movements in different parts of the empire is a marked feature in the history of Tacitus. The great extent of the empire, and the various and widely separated centres of influence, — as numerous as the different armies, — made it necessary for him, in order to keep all things abreast, to turn from one to the other. This gives breadth, variety, and attractiveness to his picture. — **lixarum**]. As *lixae* ("market men") and *calones* ("baggage carriers") belong to the same general class of men and are usually found together (see 1: 49; 3: 20), *lixarum* here takes the place of *calonum*, found in the previous sentence. — **flagitiosa per obsequia**], "by shameful services." Notice the anastrophe of the preposition (per). — **quibus dehonestamentis**], "in which dishonors of friendship," i.e. in which dishonorable friendships.

89. **A ponte Mulvio**]. A bridge across the Tiber, about two miles from Rome, on the Flaminian Way, the great northern road. From this point, though himself disposed to proceed in full military dress, Vitellius, at the instance of his friends, assumed the dress of a civilian (praetexta), that he might not seem to enter the city as a conqueror. — **totidemque . . . vexilla**], "and the same number of detachments from other legions on their flanks" (*circa*, "around," "on both sides;" see Ann. 4: 74). — **eques**], sing. for the plural (Intr. 3). The *equites* were Roman horsemen in the rear of the infantry, with squads of auxiliary horsemen (alae) for wings (see Dic. Antiq.). — **cohortes**], i.e. auxiliary troops, made up of different nationalities, as appears. — **praefecti, tribuni, primi centurionum**]. In modern phrase these were: quartermasters, colonels, and captains. — **non Vitellio . . . exercitus**], "an army worthy not of such a prince as Vitellius."

90. **Alterius**], for *alius*, i.e. as if of a foreign state, where he was not known. For the distinction between *alter* and *alius*, see M. 496.

— **astrepebat**]. A favorite word with Tacitus for expressing blind, unmeaning applause (see *astrepebat vulgus*, Ann. 1: 18), probably from the correspondence of the sound to the sense, like our *obstreperous*. — **frustra**], "i.e. sine causa, cum exitium ei immineret" (Heraeus).

93. **Principia**], "head-quarters," i.e. at the pretorian camps, just outside of the city walls. — **infamibus locis**]. The region of the Mons Vaticanus, across the Tiber, has always been notorious for its unhealthiness. The adjective here is an instance of the metaphorical use of words which so enlivens the style of Tacitus (see Intr. 122, *i*). — **fluminis aviditas**], i.e. the desire of drinking and bathing in it.— **confusus . . . militiae**], "the order of military service was disturbed by perverseness or ambitious views," i.e. on the part of Vitellius and Valens, as described in what follows in this section and the next, viz., in levying sixteen pretorian cohorts, instead of the regular number of nine, and four city cohorts, instead of the former number of three (see Ann. 14), and weakening his German legions by allowing their members to enlist in these cohorts for the more desirable city service, while he ruined the pretorians by the introduction of such a mob of new soldiers. The old pretorian cohorts which had been in the service of Otho had been disbanded by Vitellius (sec. 67). — **plus . . . exemisset**], "Valens took more upon himself in that levy on the assumption (tanquam) that he had rescued Caecina himself from danger," i.e. at the battle of Bedriacum (40–42). — **et sinistrum . . . vertebat**], "and he had changed the unfavorable rumor of a tardy journey to a prosperous battle." He was much later in reaching the Po than Caecina. — **Fluitasse**], "to have wavered." Caecina soon betrayed his party (3: 13).

94. **Convulsum . . . electis**], "the honor of the camp (i.e. of the pretorians) was destroyed by the inmixing rather than the electing of twenty thousand from the whole army," i.e. the sixteen pretorian and four city cohorts of 1,000 men each, made up as above described.

BOOK III.

1. **Meliore fato fideque**], i.e. better than that of the Vitellian party. Referring to the divisions and desertions in that party. As Vespasian's gentile name was Flavius, his party was called the Flavian party. — **Poetovionem**]. On the river Drave in Pannonia, where Primus Antonius, the leading spirit in the party now forming for Vespasian, was colonel of the seventh legion. This legion having been joined by those from Mœsia and Dalmatia (2: 86) had met for consultation at this place, which was the winter quarters of the other Pannonian legion, viz. the thirteenth. They had promptly responded to the appeal made in the letters of Vespasian and Mucianus (2: 82). — **obstrui**], "should be obstructed," i.e. by felling trees, placing rocks in the way, erecting and manning forts; with a view to which the region had already been occupied by military posts (2: 98). — **constantius**], "more consistent." — **et advenisse mox**], "and that later had arrived," i.e. after the victory of the German legions over the forces of Otho at Bedriacum. These were detachments of three British legions (see sec. 22). — **apud victos**]. The forces now consulting had taken the side of Otho, and been conquered by the forces of Vitellius at Bedriacum, though the Mœsian legions were not actually present at that battle (sec. 2). — **cum copiis orientis**]. Mucianus was on his way from Syria. We left him (2 : 82–84) collecting forces and providing the means of war through the provinces, on his way towards Rome; while Vespasian was to move upon the city by the way of Alexandria, in Egypt. Neither of them, however, reached Rome till after its capture and the death of Vitellius.

2. **Quanto . . . egerint**], "by how much more fiercely (bravely) they had borne themselves before." — **duas classes**], one on the eastern coast of Italy, at Ravenna on the Adriatic, and one on the western coast, at Misenum on the Tuscan Sea. Both these fleets soon revolted to Vespasian, at the time of the defection of Caecina and their prefect, Lucilius Bassus (see 2 : 100). — **quod**], "that." The reference is to the present movement under Antony. — **putetur**]. For computetur, the simple for the compound verb, as very often in Tacitus (Intr. 13). The implication is that the legions of

Vitellius were not full.—**quanquam rebus adversis**]. Abl. absolute instead of a regular concessive sentence (see 2:73). For the success of the cavalry here referred to, see 2:41.—**pulsu, sonituque et nube**], "by the clash and tramp, and clouds of dust." A speech in perfect keeping with the forceful and self-confident character of the speaker.

3. **Flagrans oculis, truci voce**], "with flaming eyes and a shrill voice." But for the sake of variety *flagrans* governs *oculis* as abl. of *specification*, instead of agreeing with it as *truci* does with *voce* (H. 429). By such changes in construction, which abound in Tacitus, much greater variety is attained (Intr. 119).—**Vulgus . . . ferrent**], "that the common soldiers and the others might extol him as the one man," etc. The *ut* of the preceding sentence affects this also and determines the mood of the verb.—**ea statim concione . . . qua**], "in that immediate (first) assembly, in which." In 2:86, the Pannonian legions are said to have been brought over to the cause of Vespasian *vi praecipua Primi Antonii*. The reference here undoubtedly is to that first consultation, on the reception of letters from Vespasian.—**prout conduxisset**], "as it had served his purpose," i.e. on the occasion referred to. The tense corresponds to *commoverat*, the mood being determined by *ut* (prout).

4. **Inter adversa**], i.e. if things went against them, and the cause of Vespasian did not prevail. For the individuals here named, see 2:86, where the movement (motu) began.—**perfidiae locum**], "an opportunity for treachery," i.e. his object in returning to Pannonia, after having deserted his post there, seemed to the soldiers to be that he might carry over his forces to the party of Vitellius.—**discrimini**]. Dat. of disadvantage governed by *exemptum* (see Ann. 1:64).—**impulerat**]. Has for its subject *cupido*, and for its object Flavianum.—**cum maxime**], "as to the most highly favored." The object of Fuscus in persuading Flavianus to resume his post was, that the rising party might enjoy the prestige of having a consular legate at their head (consulare nomen praetenderetur), "as much as those who enjoy it most" (see 1:29).

6. **vexillarios**], "i.e. electos e cohortibus auxiliaribus" (Heraeus). Antony hurried off (rapienti) with mere detachments of auxiliary troops (i.e. troops furnished by the allies of Rome) and of the cavalry, leaving the legions to the other leaders, as he had proposed (sec. 2). *Cohortes* usually means auxiliary troops, except when applied to the pretorians.—**Arrius Varus**]. A man just

after the heart of Antony, able and unscrupulous like himself. In Ann. 13:9, he is named as the prefect of a cohort, but, by defaming Corbulo to Nero, seems to have been promoted by him to the office of the first centurion of a legion. — **criminatus**]. In the nominative with the infin. *esse* to be supplied, after a verb of *saying* or *reporting* (M. 400). — **unde**], "whence," i.e. by defaming Corbulo to Nero, and thus gaining favor with him (infami gratia). — **laeta**], "favorable circumstances," "prosperity." Agrees with *parta*, which governs *adepto* as dat. of advantage, and this in turn governs *primum pilum*. A highly condensed sentence. — **occupata Aquileia**]. This and the other places here named were at the head of the Adriatic, in the vicinity of what is now Venice. *Proxima quaeque* must be governed by *per*, if we accept this as a true reading. The forces had moved southerly from Pœtovio across the Alps, and were now in Cisalpine Gaul, or what is really the northern part of Italy. — **ponte juncto**]. "a bridge having been made by connecting boats" (juncto), i.e. across the Po, probably at the point opposite the place now called Ferrara. They had reached this point by moving westerly and southerly around the head of the Adriatic by Patavium (now Padua), &c. — **id**], "scil. hostes incuriosos esse" (Heraeus). — **praedictum**], "direction was given beforehand." — **fuere qui**], "there were some who."

7. **secundum . . . data**], "had resulted favorably to the Flavians;" literally, "had been given favorable," i.e. by fortune. — **septima . . . Gemina**]. These two Pannonian legions had been left at Pœtovio by Antony (see sec. 2). The seventh legion (the original legion of Antony) was called Galbiana from Galba, whom it accompanied to Rome from Spain on his accession to the principate; there was another seventh legion, called Claudiana. The thirteenth legion was called Gemina, probably because originally made up of two others. Many of the legions had such special names; more commonly, however, referring to the provinces in which they were originally stationed, as Germanica, Macedonica, &c. No less than twenty-six different legions are referred to in the works of Tacitus. — **recoli**] = "colendi causa refovere" (Heraeus). This replacing of the images of Galba gave additional significance (in majus) to the rescuing of the quartermaster of his old legion from the violence of the soldiers. It looked like restoring the discipline of Galba, who at length began to be appreciated, after the laxness of the reigns of Otho and Vitellius. — **si . . . crederentur**], "if the reign and re-

vival of the party of Galba might be believed to please him" (lit. "if the reign of Galba and for his party to revive," &c.). This is a personal instead of the impersonal construction: "if it might be believed," &c. (See 2:76.)

8. **In rem famamque**], "for profit and for fame." For this use of *in rem*, see Ann. 4:33, note. — **praetium fuit**], i.e. a real advantage to the assailants, both by the influence of its capture upon other places (exemplo), and by the material aid which it afforded. On the contrary, the taking of Vicetia was of no consequence, except as having been the home of Caecina, one of the principal leaders of the enemy. — **magni . . . reputantibus**], "it held a place (position) of great importance in the view of those recollecting." — **illa**], "by that way," i.e. between Rætia and the Julian Alps. — **obsepserat**], "had obstructed the way," i.e. his army at Verona, on the pass by way of Rætia (which was attached to the cause of Vitellius, sec. 5), and the Julian Alps had effected this. This secured them against the interference of auxiliary German forces which had been ordered by Vitellius (97), while they might be engaged in taking Verona. — **consilium**], i.e. a reason for his direction that the war should be arrested at Aquileia. The reason follows. — **quando obtinerentur**]. The reason is given subjectively by the subj. mood ("because, *as he conceived*, should Egypt, &c., be obtained possession of"). With the grain of Egypt and the taxes of the eastern provinces cut off, the government of Vitellius could not hold out long. — **praetexendo**], "by plausibly representing." His real object is stated in the concluding part of the sentence.

9. **Quod si adfuisset**]. Referring to the purpose of betraying the cause entertained by Caecina. At the news of the defection of the Mœsian and Pannonian legions and of the approach of the forces of Vespasian, Caecina, with his army, had left Rome, ostensibly to protect northern Italy against the enemy (2:99, 100); really, however, to betray it. He was now encamped near Hostilia, between Verona and Cremona (sec. 9). — **promptum erat**], "it was easy." But instead of repelling, he chided them with letters. — **Aponius Saturninus**]. Governor of Mœsia. He brought with him the first of the Mœsian legions (2:85), and in command of it a highly honorable and cultivated (bonas artes) colonel, the general (legatus) having deserted the legion (2:85). — **victa arma**], i.e. the conquered arms of the Othonian party (to which they had belonged), which they had taken up again. There is the same reference in *prioris fortunae*

below. — **praesumpsere**], "they spoke in advance," "volunteered to speak." — **quae indulserit**], i.e. that they would not be disturbed in the kind of service which Vitellius had admitted them to. — **scripsissent**]. The predicate alike of Caecina and *ipsorum duces* (that is, the Flavian leaders). The reason is given subjectively in the subj.

10. **Cesserat**], "had fallen to," i.e. the making the rampart opposite to the enemy had been assigned to this legion. — **Tampium Flavianum**]. See sec. 4. — **humi plerumque stratus**], "frequently throwing himself upon the ground," i.e. in an imploring attitude. — **Aponius**], i.e. Aponius Saturninus (see sec. 9). — **Ubi crudescere**]. "Ubi, also *ut* and *postquam*, are found with the historical infin. in Tacitus only when followed by a finite verb depending upon the same conjunction" (Heraeus). — **ludibrium**], i.e. the *farce* or *deception* of binding him as if for punishment, when the real object was to rescue him from their rage. — **tribunal**], i.e. the head-quarters of the general. — **nomine ciens**], "calling upon him by name," i.e. *quemque notum*. — **signa et bellorum deos**], i.e. the standards and the gods of war represented on them. — **injicerent**], "that they should turn against" (the armies of the enemy), &c. — **obviis Vespasiani literis**], "by letters of Vespasian received on his way." He was thus secured from danger and removed from the army. Aponius, the other consular legate, was soon driven off by the soldiers, leaving the whole authority to Antony.

15. **Ubi haec comperta**], i.e. the disturbance and consternation occasioned in the Vitellian camp by the discovery of the treachery of Caecina. In consequence of this discovery, the forces had retired hurriedly from their camp to Hostilia and thence to Cremona, to unite with their other forces there (sec. 14). — **secundis a Verona castris**], "by a second encampment from Verona," i.e. by two days' march. — **imbueretur**], "might be filled with." Hence it takes the abl. (H. 419, 3). — **ad octavum** (i.e. lapidem) **a Bedriaco**]. As it appears from 2:39, to have been twenty miles from Bedriacum to Cremona, this was twelve miles from that place. — **longius cursabant**]. The scouts explored the country farther than the cavalry.

16. **Quinta hora**], "eleven o'clock" (see 22, note). — **nam . . . ultimus erat**]. This sentence gives a reason why the Flavians lost, though but moderately, in the attack of Varus; which is in substance: that the fortune of the battle was turned against them by the unexpected joining in the fight of a larger number, and that

their bravest men, those who had been first in the pursuit, being last in the retreat, protected their rear.—**fore quae . . . rebatur**], i.e. he was not disappointed at what had happened.—**medio**], i.e. *between* his squads of cavalry on the flanks.—**ut qua . . . proximum**], "that, by what way it might be nearest for each." The auxiliary cohorts were foraging in the country around (see 15). These were now called in while the legions were arming.—**pavidus . . . formidinem**], "in the mean time Varus alarmed becomes mixed with the crowd of his own men and increased their fear."—**pulsi . . . conflictabantur**], "driven, the sound with the wounded, they were harassed by their very fright and the narrowness of the way."

17. **Eo ardoris**], "to that pitch of ardor."—**Vexillarium**], "the bearer of the *vexillum*, or standard of a detachment of soldiers." In the plural it denotes such a body of troops (2: 83).—**quo pudore . . . restitere**], "on account of shame for which not more than a hundred horsemen remained behind" (see *quo dolore*, 2: 43).—**lapsas jam partes**], "the already prostrate party."—**temere effusos**], "rashly spread out."

18. **Laeto . . . provecta**], "brought thither so far on account of the fight of their cavalry having been prosperous at the beginning" (hence *forte profecti*, below). These legions had been stationed at Cremona by Caecina before his treachery (14).—**haud perinde . . . intelligebant**], "they had not in their prosperity (i.e. in their first success) felt so much (perinde) their want of a leader as (atque) in their adversity they were becoming conscious that they had none." Referring to the defection of Caecina. The form *perinde . . . ac* is rare, M. 444.—**turbatos**], "those thrown into disorder," "routed."—**nutantem aciem**], i.e. the line of the Vitellian army at the fourth mile-stone.—**aequabant**], "kept up with," i.e. equalled in the rapidity of their march.

19. **universum . . . robur**], i.e. the legions which had been encamping (15) and were putting on their armor (16) when the battle began, and hence were not in the fight. On the other side, also, only the cavalry seems to have been engaged till the fight had reached the two legions at the fourth mile-stone.—**utque . . . incessere**], "and as they walked over the heaps of the slain and the traces fresh with slaughter." Tacitus is sure to seize upon every impressive circumstance. It is this which gives such solemn grandeur to his narrative. As in all Latin authors the preposition often

follows the relative and personal pronoun (as, te*cum*, quo*cum*, quos *inter*, etc.), so in Tacitus and the later writers we find it not unfrequently after nouns, as *super* is here. This transposition by which a *pre*position becomes a *post*position is called *anastrophe* (see Intr. 116). — **foret**], "post-classical for *esset*" (Heraeus). With *debellatum* it means "had been fought through," "finished." — **haec . . . illa**]. Both governed by *dicunt* implied in *dictu*. The first (*haec*) referring to what precedes, which, as being honorable sentiments, they had uttered openly (in medio); the latter (*illa*) referring to what follows; each had said to himself. — **idem ferociae**], "the same measure of bravery" (Intr. 40). — **Jam pacem**], "now peace." Governed like the following accusatives, by *laturos* ("they would bear off," "receive." — **ni ducantur**]. The sentence depends upon *rapturi* (Intr. 104).

20. **Tam bene meritis**], "from those who had deserved so well." — **pro virili portione**], "for a manly part," "to the extent of my ability" (see Agric. 45). While he would to the extent of his ability contribute to the victory by external means, he would not be wanting in the special arts and duties of a leader. — **quae occurrant**], "which may stand in our way," "may be adverse to us." — **oppugnationem**]. Governed by *inchoaturos* ("should they begin the siege"). — **quis**], i.e. *esset*. — **tormentis, telis, operibus, vineis**], "engines, missiles, siege works, arbors." The *vineae*, *plutei*, *crates*, were but different kinds of *sheds* for the protection of besiegers in their various operations. The *agger* was a mound or tower for sustaining the battering engines; often placed on wheels and gradually advanced towards the walls of a besieged city (see the words in Smith's Dic. Antiq.). — **expugnandis urbibus**]. Equivalent to a final sentence (Intr. 109). — **quin potius**], "why not rather?" "nay, rather" (A. 1 : 23, 28; M. 3, 51, Obs. *b*.).

21. **Qui Hostiliae egerat**], "which had been on duty at Hostilia" (see sec. 9 and 14). — **triginta milia**]. A thousand paces being a mile, and *passuum* being very commonly omitted, the Latin word (*mile*) and the English word "mile" is the same. These six legions, according to Heraeus, were: legio prima, et Germanicae IV. V. XV. XVI. XXII. — **obstructas mentes**], "their obstinate minds." — **in ipso aggere**], "on the very ridge of the Postumian way." A road leading from Cremona to Hostilia, supposed to have been built by A. Postumius Albinus. There were two Pannonian and three Mœsian legions in Antony's army (see 2 : 85 and 86). He here

arranges them for battle. — **agresti fossa**], "by a country ditch" (see 2 : 41). — **apertum limitem**]. Opposed to *agresti fossa* and *densis arbustis*. Apparently, a cleared way across the fields from the Postumian way. — **aquilarum signorumque**]. The former was the standard of the legion, the latter that of the cohort (see 1 : 44). — **praetorianum vexillum**]. The pretorians who had been disbanded by Vitellius (2 : 67) had resumed service in the army of Vespasian; at least a portion of them (vexillum). — **in cornubus**], i.e. the right and left extremities of the wings; which was the usual place for the auxiliary troops. — **equite**], "by the horse," "cavalry." An abl. of the instrument, as it was conceived to be. — **Sido atque Italicus**]. Called kings of the Suevi, in sec. 5.

22. **Ratio fuit**], i.e. reason dictated that the Vitellian forces should have rested till the next day before making the attack. They would have been in a better condition, and the Flavians, from want of protection and supplies, in a worse condition. On the contrary, they made the attack about nine o'clock in the evening. The Romans reckoned twelve hours for the day and twelve for the night, from sun to sun: hence their hours differed in length at different times in the year. It will be recollected that Caecina had deserted, and that Valens had not yet arrived (see 15). — **ordinem . . . tenebras**], "the order of the army deranged by anger and the darkness." — **ausim**]. Perf. subj. contracted from *auserim* ("I should not dare," (see Ann. 3 : 32, note). — **provisu**], "in foreseeing," "providing." — **pugnae signum**], i.e. the *tessera*, the password or order of the general. — **primipili centurio**]. Captain of the first century of the legion, the same as *primus centurionum*, *primipilus* or *primipilaris*, though the last seems to have been the designation of such centurions after retiring from service (see 70). He was the chief captain, and had charge of the eagle of the legion. The vigor of the narrative here is in keeping with that of the action described.

23. **Dispersa primo . . . illisa**], "having been scattered at first and striking the bushes (see 21) without harm to the enemy" (i.e. Antony's army). — **magnitudine eximia**], "of extraordinary size." An abl. of quality (H. 428; A. and G. 141, 7). — **ignorati**], "unknown," i.e. on account of their disguise in the enemy's shields. — **vincla . . . tormento**], "the ropes and springs of the engine." The engine here referred to was the *ballista* just named; an engine which is described as acting something like a bow, with string and springs (see *tormentum* in Smith's Dic. Antiq.). — **adulta nocte**], i.e.

midnight; so *aestate adulta*, Ann. 2: 23.—**falso . . . ictu**], "with a false aim as if at bodies." They were really aiming, however, at the shadows of the enemy, cast in front of them by the moon shining behind (a tergo), and hence their missiles fell short of the real object. It was thus that the rising of the moon not only revealed the armies, but deceived them. A charming account of this optical illusion in the midst of this terrible fight by night. See the like beautiful allusion, in the next section, to the saluting of the sun at its rising.

24. **Labem prioris ignominiae**]. Referring to their previous defeat on the same field, when in the army of Otho.—**principes . . . belli**]. The Mœsian legions were the first to declare for Vespasian (see 2: 85).—**tollerent**], "endure," "feel the effects of."—**haec**]. Supply *dixit* (Intr. 21).—**plura ad tertianos**]. The third Mœsian legion had formerly served in the east and been transferred from Syria (2: 74); hence after the manner of the Persians they saluted the sun at its rising, as said below.—**quis alius imperator**]. They had already served under Otho and Vitellius; and would become mere *peasants* (from *pagus*, "a country village") unless they conquered now.—**illic**], "there," i.e. among the Vitellians, to whom they had surrendered their arms at their discharge from service (2: 67).

25. **Vagus inde . . . rumor**], "thence (i.e. from their saluting the sun) arose a vague rumor, whether started by a plan of the leader or not is uncertain." *An*, like our "whether or not," implies an uncertainty (H. 346, II. 2; M. 453, Obs. 1).—**gradum inferunt**], "they advance."—**ut quos**], "as being those whom," "since they were those whom;" hence followed by the subj. (H. 500; A. and G. 182, 1).—**per limitem**], sec. 21, note.—**Vipstano Messala**], commander of the seventh legion (sec. 9) and author of the history of his times; referred to again, sec. 28.—**scrutatur**], "scil. spoliandi causa" (Heraeus).—**et . . . partem**], "and how small a part of the citizens in arms is a single soldier!"—**aperire humum**]. The bodies of those who fell in war and of the common people seem to have been buried, not burned (see 2: 45).—**miraculum**], "astonishment," "horror."—**factum esse . . . faciuntque**], "they condemn the crime done, and yet continue to do the same." In the momentary lull in the storm of battle, the author, with his usual skill, works in this touching incident and its moral.

26. **Moenibus . . . circumjecerat**], "had put their camp around

the fortifications of the Cremonians, a rampart around their camp." *Moenia* are not simply the walls of a city (*muri*), but the walls as furnished with defences, such as turrets, formidable gates, &c. (see sec. 30). The fortifications here referred to were made by the Vitellians in the previous struggle with the forces of Otho. — **formidolosum**], "dangerous." — **quae super . . . miles**], "besides (*super* for *praeter*, Intr. 55) all which their own soldiers deterred them." — **pensabantur**], "were balanced by."

27. **Corona**], "by a line of soldiers," "an investing force." He had decided to take the risk of an immediate attack." — **in quos . . . librabantur**], i.e. the rocks and arrows (here called *tela*) were hurled down from the turrets and other defences upon the Flavians; hence they suffered the more. — **proxima Bedriacensi viae**], i.e. the parts of the rampart next to the way leading to Bedriacum (i.e. the Postumian way) were assigned to the legions here named. — **ligones, dolabras, falces, scalas**], "grub-hoes," "pickaxes," "hooks," "ladders." The hooks were for pulling down the defences on the top of the walls, or their defenders. *Alii* is omitted in the first part of the sentence, as in A. 1: 63. — **Romanae utrimque artes**]. It was "Greek against Greek," or rather Roman against Roman. — **scrutantur**], "they search," "penetrate." The shields which formed the *testudo*, under which the besiegers approached the walls, had become separated (disjectam) and uneven (fluitantem) (Tyler). — **Cremonam monstrassent**], i.e. had shown it to them (by some gesture or nod, probably) as a prize to be taken and sacked. This wicked device (ingenium) to stimulate the soldiers, the historian Messala (who was present at the siege, sec. 9, 18) charged upon Hormus (a freedman of Vespasian, sec. 12), but the elder Pliny upon Antony himself (see next sec.).

28. **haud facile discreverim**]. See Ann. 3: 32, note. — **nisi . . . degeneravere**], "except that neither Antony nor Hormus belied their former fame or life by this however basest (i.e. inconceivably basest) of shameful acts." — **varia . . . mortium**], "with varying forms of the dying, and every image of death." A fitting close to the description of the general features of this assault on the outer works, which is continued more in detail in the following section. Commentators point out the similarity in the sentiment and language here to Thuc. 3: 81, and Virg. Aen. 2: 369.

29. **Obstinatos inter se**], "obstinatione inter se certantes" (Doed.), i.e. the legions and auxiliaries rivalling each other in per-

sistence. — **in subeuntes**], i.e. against the troops of Antony *approaching the walls.* — **quos inciderat**], "whom it had hit." By making this compound verb govern an acc., the author saves the use of a separate preposition (*in;* Intr. 25). — **ita traxit**]. The ballista seems to have been worked from the top of the rampart, which it finally brought down with its own fall. — **juncta turris**], "an adjoining turret." One of the defences (munimenta) erected on the rampart, referred to in 26, and to be distinguished from the stone turrets of the city walls proper, spoken of below (30). — **cuneis**]. These were assaulting columns. — **qua**], "in which part," "where," i.e. at the point left defenceless by the fall of the turret. — **conclamavit**], "shouted aloud;" as though a multitude were crying out *together* (Tyler). — **vacui**]. A partitive gen. depending on *quantum* ("as much space as"; Intr. 40).

30. **Frequens . . . populus**], "the large population of Cremona." These were naturally favorable to the party occupying the city. — **egressa**], "rising above," "surpassing in height." Hence it takes the acc., but *egressus* ("emerging," sec. 29, 71) is intransitive. — **complet**], i.e. Antony fills these high buildings with his best soldiers, who hurl at the besieged the boards and timbers of which they were made.

31. **Cum languescere**]. For the historical infin. in subordinate sentences, see Intr. 92. — **ut quis . . . fortunae**], "as each one excelled in rank he was yielding to the inevitable (fortunae). This was to save themselves with the victors, as they alone, and not the poor rabble, were of sufficient consequence and had sufficient means to excite their murderous cupidity (ubi pretium caedis erat). — **primores castrorum**]. These were the prefects, tribunes, centurions, &c. They destroyed the images of Vitellius in their camps and his name on their banners. — **Caecinae**], dat. of advantage (see 3: 4). He had been kept in chains ever since the discovery of his treachery, and was now delivered to the Flavians, for whose benefit he had committed the treason, in order to propitiate their favor. — **extremum . . . invocantes**], "so many brave men asking the greatest of evils, the aid of a traitor." — **velamenta et infulas**]. These veiled olive branches and fillets were presented in supplication of their favor. They were exhibited to the enemy from the walls (pro muris, see 1: 29). — **signa . . . extulere**], "they brought forth their standards and eagles," i.e. to surrender them to Antony. — **qui nuper . . . temperasset**], "who had recently placed a limit

to (moderated) the Bedriacan victory" (see 2: 45). In this sense, *tempero* takes a dat. — **etiam perfidiam**], "even his treason." His treason had been serviceable to them; but as a moral wrong they could not but condemn it. Tacitus rarely overlooks the moral aspects of actions.

32. **In neutrum**], i.e. neither in favor of its preservation nor of its destruction. — **Othonis quoque bello**]. To have assisted the Vitellians against Otho was an additional offence, as most of their present forces had supported Otho in that conflict. — **illuserant**], "had mocked," "insulted." The thirteenth legion had belonged to the army of Otho in his conflict with Vitellius, and had been left at Cremona to superintend the building of an amphitheatre in which Caecina was to exhibit a gladiatorial show (2 : 67). The author is giving their various pretexts or motives for proceeding to sack the city. — **invidiam**], "animosity," "hatred towards them." — **mercatus**], "of the fair." — **ceteri duces in obscuro**], i.e. as to what they did towards bringing on the sacking of the city. — **statim . . . incalescerent**], "that it would soon come to pass that they would be hot enough." This reported saying of his (excepta vox) seemed to imply that he intended to sack and burn the city; and being in this low slang style, it is called a slave-like speech (vernile dictum).

The section containing the account of the actual sacking and burning of the city I omit, as being too horrible to read with any pleasure, notwithstanding the consummate art and power of the narrator. Indeed, the preceding account of the progress of Antony, with his handful of men, from Pannonia to the Po, closing with a continuous flight of two days and the intervening night, in which the principal army of Vitellius, after several preliminary battles, was cooped up in its camp at Cremona, and the camp, city, and army all taken by assault, may be said to border upon the frightful. And yet the events are related with such skill and power, with such moral earnestness and sympathy for the right, as right is considered in war, as to keep up the interest unabated to the end, and produce no revulsion of feeling.

34. **Primordio sui**], "from its origin." The personal for the possessive pronoun (Intr. 42). — **Cornelio**], i.e. Cornelius Scipio (see Liv. 21 : 6). It was at this time that it was established as a Roman colony, as a defence against Hannibal, who was then invading Italy. It was near the junction of the Po and the Adda. — **et si . . . rueret**]. This sentence is co-ordinate with the participle

agentes (= "and any other force *acting*," &c.) — **annexu connubiisque gentium**], "by connection (i.e. commercial intercourse) and intermarriage with other nations." — **civilibus infelix**]. Having favored the party of Brutus and Cassius, it was heavily mulcted by the triumvirs (Heraeus). — **emptionem aspernantis**], "spurning the purchase of such slaves." Hence such booty was useless to them (irritum). — **occidi coepere**]. For this construction, see Intr. 14, *b*. — **munificentia municipum**], "by the munificence of the inhabitants of the free towns." The ravages of war, though ever so terrible, are always repaired more rapidly than is expected. Vespasian also, it seems, was called upon to aid in repairing the loss (hortabatur).

35. **Assidere**], "to encamp by." — **ambigui**], "equivocally," "treacherously." — **nuntios famamque**], "messengers, and a report." Governed (as Calenum and Montanum also are) by *misere*. This was done for a display (ostentui).

36. **At Vitellius**]. The author now turns again to Vitellius, whom he left at Rome, in the latter part of the last book, relapsing into stupidity, after having been sufficiently aroused by rumors of the approach of the Flavian forces to despatch Caecina with his army to the Po. We find him in the same condition here; indeed, this was his normal condition. — **curis . . . obtendebat**], "substituted pleasures for cares," "drowned cares in indulgence." — **ut ignavia animalia . . . torpentque**]. What a sarcasm on the besotted emperor! — **nemore Aricino**]. A grove sixteen miles southeast of Rome, on the Appian way, at the foot of the Alban Mount, where Numa was reputed to have met the nymph Egeria for nightly consultations (Liv. 1:21). — **mixtus gaudio dolor**], "the sad news mixed with joy," sad because he had proved a traitor, joyful because he had been put in chains. — **P. Sabinum**]. See 2:92. Not to be confounded with Flavius Sabinus, mayor of the city (sec. 69).

54. **Apud Cremonam**], i.e. in the battle which ended in the destruction of Cremona. — **confitenti**], "if he had acknowledged the defeat." The part. here stands in place of a conditional sentence (lit. to him acknowledging it). — **falsis ingravescebat**], "he aggravated the case by falsehoods;" thus neglecting remedies, by pretending that there was nothing to remedy. — **ac si . . . narraturi**], "and while likely to state things truly, if freely allowed." *Narraturi* agrees with *sermones*, and is co-ordinate with *plures*. We see here a shrewd insight into human nature. — **augendae famae deerant**].

The gerundive dat. with *deesse*, as in Ann. 1 : 1. — **circumductos**], i.e. conducted through their lines, that they might see their strength. — **perpulit**], "he prevailed," i.e. with Vitellius. — **Cremonae vestigia**], "the traces (i.e. the ruins) of Cremona." — **ultro**], "even," see sec. 70, note. — **dabo cui credas**], "I will give you *proof* which you may believe," i.e. his life.

63. **In partes**], i.e. to the Flavian party, this being implied in the connection. Thus generally (see 2 : 1). — **in subjectos . . . descendere**], "came down (i.e. from their camp above) into the adjacent plains of Narnia." This was done in order to surrender themselves to the Flavian forces. Narnia was some sixty miles north-east of Rome on the Flaminian way (viam). These forces had been left at Narnia by Vitellius on leaving for Campania (sec. 58). — **e victricibus**], i.e. of the Flavians. — **fidere**], "confided in." Hist. infin. with a relative, as with the relative adverb *quum* (Intr. 92). **secreta Campaniae**], "the retired retreats of Campania." — **seque ac**]. Instead of *et–et* (Intr. 65). — **meminissent . . . oblivisceretur**], "if they should not (constantly) remind him, he would forget." See M. 381.

69. **Ut militem cohiberent**], "that they should restrain their soldiers," i.e. keep them quiet. As mayor, the command of the forces in the city (i.e. the pretorian and city cohorts and armed watchmen) devolved upon him, if Vitellius had abdicated. — **Flavii Sabini**]. He was an older brother of Vespasian, who had been made prefect (mayor) of Rome by Otho in order to conciliate Vespasian (H. 1 : 46), and been continued in that office by Vitellius, probably for the same reason. The inefficiency of Vitellius and the general desertion of him for Vespasian (omnis respublica . . . cessit) left Sabinus the chief authority at Rome. The partisan zeal of the rabble (studiis vulgi), and the threats of the German cohorts (i.e. the three pretorian cohorts then in Rome (sec. 78) of the sixteen recently enlisted from the German legions; 2 : 93), refer to what had just occurred on the report that Vitellius had agreed to abdicate to Sabinus in favor of his brother Vespasian, and in the interest of peace. — **progressus erat**], i.e. Sabinus had gone too far to retreat. — **cunctantem . . . impellebant**], "was urging him (i.e. Sabinus) hesitating to arms." *Quisque* here, as usual in Tacitus, takes the plural. — **lacum Fundani**]. A pool or chasm, apparently in Rome; like *Curtii lacus*, 1 : 41. — **re trepida**], "in his critical situation." — **arcem capitolii insedit**], "took possession of the citadel of the

capitol." Supposed by many to be the same as the capitol, or to include it. But Doederlein says, "Distinctam illam ipso Capitolio. etiam si in eodem monte sitam."—**socordi custodia**], "with a careless guard."—**Domitianum fratris filium**]. Domitian, the youngest son of Vespasian, was at Rome when his father was proclaimed emperor by his legions in the east, and, as we shall see, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Vitellian forces. He was saved on the present occasion by being smuggled into the citadel in the slumbrous hours of night (concubia nocte) through the negligence of the guard.—**per neglecta**], "through what had been neglected," i.e. a complete investment of the citadel.—**artas res**], "that their condition would be straitened." *Fore* is to be supplied here.

70. **Antequam . . . coeptarent**], "before they began mutual hostilities." The predicate of the principal sentence being in the perf., the subj. follows *antequam*, as usual (H. 523, 2; M. 360).—**pacta**]. This was his agreement with Sabinus to abdicate.—**cur enim . . . petisset**]. It appears from sec. 68 that Vitellius, on leaving the assembly of his friends (sua concione, here referred to by *rostris*), started (discessit) for his brother's house, but was recalled by those around him, and forced to go into the palace. His brother's house appears to have been a conspicuous one, calculated to attract the attention of the public (irritandis hominum oculis), and hence his going there, rather than to his own house on the Aventine, seemed too ambitious for one who considered himself a private man. This brother's name was Lucius (then at the head of the Vitellian forces at Tarracina, 84), and was the emperor's chief reliance after the death of Caecina and Valens.—**ne . . . abstineri**], "not from the capitol even had it been abstained by him." He was then investing the capitol, in order to capture Sabinus and his forces.—**togatum nempe se**], "that he in truth was but a citizen in civil dress."—**judicatur**], "it is contested."—**Germanis**]. The legions of upper Germania under Flaccus and Vocula had now deserted him (4:31, 37).—**ultro**], "unsolicited." *Ultro*, though the masculine or neuter form of the same word of which *ultra* is the feminine, is much less confined to the purely local meaning ("beyond"), meaning, properly, *beyond* what could be expected or required, hence, "of one's own accord," "voluntarily," "without solicitation," "even."—**filium Vespasiani**], i.e. Domitian, who was in his keeping in the citadel.—**modestiam**], "moderation," "humble aspirations." Thus

in Ann. 1:11. But in many other places it means "subordination," "loyalty" (see 1:60). — **non jam . . . erat**]. How many kings and emperors of this kind there have been in the world! merely causes of war!

71. **Erigunt . . . collem**], "they lead their army up along the opposing hill," i.e. the hill on which the capitol stood (see *erexit aciem*, Agric. 18). — **porticus**], i.e. *porticus basilicae* (for which see 1:40, note). These porticos had been there from of old (*antiquitus*). — **dextrae subeuntibus**], "to those approaching on the right;" *viae* being understood and governed by *subeuntibus*, which in turn is governed by *erant* as dat. of the person interested (i.e. acting or thinking, sec. 2:50; Agr. 18). — **longum videbatur**], i.e. to bring up engines, &c. And as they were armed with swords only, they resorted to fire. — **revulsas undique statuas**]. These were removed from their pedestals and placed in the doorway, to awe the soldiers from entering. — **diversos**], i.e. on the north-west, the side opposite to that where they brought up their force from the forum. — **lucum asyli**], i.e. a grove between the two peaks of the Capitoline Hill, originally opened as an asylum for the reception of foreigners, as described in the first book of Livy. — **Tarpeia rupes**], a precipitous rock on the north-western side of the Capitoline Hill, from which traitors were thrown. — **Utraque vis**], i.e. the attack by each of these approaches, both on the north-west, and not far from each other. — **solum . . . aequabant**], "alone were the equals of the Capitol," i.e. in height. — **an obsessi**], "or the besieged *by so doing*," i.e. by hurling fire. — **aedibus**]. The Capitol, which contained a chapel for Jupiter, one for Juno, and one for Minerva. — **aquilae**], i.e. the ornamental brackets of the pediment.

72. **Propitii . . . deis**], "the gods being propitious, as far as they could be with such morals as we have." For *per* here, see Intr. 53. — **sedem . . . Maximo**]. The capitol was especially the temple of Jupiter, though sacred also to Juno and Minerva, and hence called *aedes* (plural, as above). — **non Porsenna dedita urbe**]. This is probably the true account, that the city was surrendered to this Etruscan chief, though contrary to the account of Livy, whose History contains an account of most of the events here referred to. — **capta temerare**]. When the Gauls under Brennus (B.C. 390) took Rome, they did not gain possession of the capitol, and hence could not do violence to it. *Capta* is in the abl. with *urbe*. — **furore principum exscindi**]. The subject of *exscindi* is *sedem*,

and the princes referred to were Vitellius and Vespasian; the whole in apposition with *facinus*.—**civili bello**], i.e. between Sulla and Marius (A.U. 671; B.C. 83). This burning, as stated below, was four hundred and fifteen years after the expulsion of the Tarquins (B.C. 510).—**fraude privata**], "by private villany." By some unknown hand.—**quo . . . bellavimus**], "with what advantage of so great a calamity? it stood while we fought for our country." The particle *dum* seems to be required in the last clause. But the reading is doubtful.—**quam quo . . . sufficerent**], "than for what the still slight affairs of the Roman people might require." This, being presented as the view or conception of Tarquin, is expressed in the subj.—**Catuli nomen . . . mansit**], i.e. his name, inscribed on the doors, continued to that time.

73. **Ex diverso**], "on the opposite side" (see 2:75, note), i.e. the side of Sabinus. He was frightened out of his wits (captus animi), and sluggish in his old age (see 75). Hence he had no control over his troops.—**expedire**], "to despatch," "execute;" used actively, as often in Tacitus (see 1:10; 2:52).—**umbra honoris**], i.e. his title as consul, which in such times was but a shadow.—**casus**], "chances," i.e. opportunities offered by chance.—**signo**], "watchword" (see 22, note).—**ultro**], "even," i.e. beyond what might have been expected (70).—**audaciam . . . haberent**], "used audacity for concealment," i.e. escaped detection by their audacity.

74. **Lineo amictu**]. The dress of a priest.—**Velabrum**]. A district in Rome on the south-western slope of the Palatine Hill. If he had been killed, instead of escaping thus, it would have been no loss to Rome or the human race.—**disjecto . . . contubernio**], "the tent of the sexton having been destroyed." In its place he erected a chapel and altar with a memorial tablet, and, when he became himself emperor, a larger temple. **Expressam**], "expressed," "impressed;" a passive participle, followed by what is called the Greek acc. (casus suos). The construction is poetic (Intr. 25, *e*; H. 380; A. and G. 133, *c*).—**ut absisteret**], "that he might withdraw," i.e. that he might desist from his entreaties for Sabinus (preces parantem), and, retiring into the palace, allow them to carry out their purpose.—**Gemonias**]. The steps cut in the western declivity of the Aventine Hill, down which the dead bodies of criminals were dragged and thrown into the Tiber.

78. **Dum haec . . . geruntur**], i.e. the conflicts with the forces of Vespasian among the Apennines (to which region the war had

been transferred from the Alps and the Po), and what has just been related of the conflict in Rome (i.e. from sec. 63). — **Narnia**]. This place (also Ocriculum) was north-east of Rome, among the northern Apennines. It had been one of the head-quarters of the Vitellians, but had been surrendered to the forces of Vespasian (sec. 63). Had these forces proceeded directly to Rome, they might have saved the city. — **festos . . . dies**]. The *Saturnalia* (beginning December 17th) was the great autumnal carnival of the Romans after the harvest (see the word in Smith's Dic. Antiq.). — **Antonium . . . arguerent**], "attacked Antony with suspicions." — **descivisset**]. In the subj. because presented as conceived or viewed by the general ("had, *as they were aware*, revolted," see 2 : 74, note); but *videbatur* below expresses the thought as something objectively real, or inevitable. — **tres cohortes**]. The number of cohorts which Sabinus had. — **assignaverit**], "could ascribe" (see 2: 2). — **ambiguis**], i.e. of indecisive import, spoken of as *media*, in sec. 52. — **vel dum . . . regerit**], "even while he threw back the odium," i.e. upon Mucianus. — **finem ejus insignivere**], "made its close infamous," i.e. by delaying till the city was burned. — **Salaria via**]. A way leading from the Colline gate to the sea-coast, whence salt was obtained. Cerialis was a very able general, as he showed himself to be in the two years immediately following this, viz., in the vexatious German and Gallic war with Civilis, and in his administration of the government of Britain (A.D. 70, 71).

79. **Saxa Rubra**]. A town in Etruria on the Flaminian way, not far from the Mulvian bridge (see 2:89). — **multo jam noctis**], "far into the night." *Spatio* or *tempore* is to be supplied. In sec. 77, we find *multa nocte* in a similar sense. — **interjectus . . . pedes**], "foot soldiery having been interposed to his cavalry." — **fortunam . . . speculabantur**]. Having been recently surrendered at Narnia (sec. 63), they were deficient in zeal for the party; indeed, they were not yet fully satisfied that it would ultimately succeed. — **Fidenas**]. On the Salarian way, about a mile from Rome.

80. **Vulgus urbanum**], i.e. the city rabble, not included in the thirty-five tribes. The tribes, and the equestrian and senatorial orders, had already been levied upon for men and means (sec. 58). The three pretorian cohorts (78), and these levies (called *vexilla* in 82), seem to have been all the forces which Vitellius had to rely upon. His other forces were at Tarracina (see 84). — **quod cuique obvium**], "such as was convenient for each," i.e. each seizing what-

ever weapon came in his way. The number of the relative (quod) follows that of *cuique*, rather than that of *telis*, which is its proper antecedent (Intr. 87). — **exercitus**], i.e. the armies of Vespasian; viz., the corps on the Salarian way under Cerialis, and those with Antony on the Flaminian way, a little farther to the west. — **proximus lictor**]. That one of the twelve lictors next before the magistrate; he was regarded as the principal one. — **defensi forent**], "might be having been defended," i.e. had been defended.

81. **Placita**], i.e. what is pleasing to one, what is assented to, hence *doctrines*. — **intempestivam sapientiam**]. It is no time to enforce the lessons of philosophy amidst the clash of arms. If *inter arma silent leges*, so of philosophy and all humane arts. — **eximi supremo certamini**], "that one day should be rescued from the final struggle." Dat. of disadvantage (sec. 4, note) — **direpta belli commercia**], "negotiations about the war had been broken off." Sabinus was engaged in such negotiations, it will be recollected, at the time the attack was made upon him.

82. **Templis, delubris**], "shrines;" the former as places for intercourse with the gods (strictly, through auguries), the latter as places for expiation and purification. — **miles . . . et ipse presidiis**], "the Vitellian soldiery and Vitellius himself met the three lines." *Trinis* is for *tribus*, as in 1:2, and *presidiis* ("supports") is for *agminibus*. — **partem sinistram**], i.e. on the east of the Flaminian way, by which the forces approached the city from the north. — **hortos**], "gardens," "parks." These were near the Colline gate, and hence were the scene of the action of the third division. The park was prepared by the historian Sallust, and adorned by him with the spoils of Numidia (Ann. 13:47). — **qui . . . irruperat**], i.e. those under Cerialis on the Salarian way, which entered the city by the Colline gate.

83. **Utque . . . certamine**], "as at an enacted farce." A solemn farce, surely! What an idea this gives one of the savage nature of the populace, witnessing the civil strife as they would a play, and hissing or applauding as one faction or the other prevailed! — **abditos**], i.e. those who had concealed themselves in consequence of having been obliged to succumb (inclinasset). It is the subject of *erui* and *jugulari* ("to be dragged out and butchered"), which depend upon *expostulantes* ("demanding," referring to *populus*, as a noun of multitude, which is also the subject of *potiebantur*). — **quantum . . . scelerum**], "there was as much of licentiousness

as in a most luxurious peace, as many horrid crimes as in the bitterest captivity." What a picture of voluptuousness and rage! — **nunc . . . intermissae**], "now there was inhuman indifference, and *a desire only* that their pleasure should not be intermitted for a single moment." — **Velut festis . . . accederet**], "as if this delight also (i.e. of seeing the conflict) were added to the festive days" (i.e. of the Saturnalia, sec. 78). We have in this section a fine specimen of the cumulative method of the author in picturing a scene which he wished to work up to its true height. He adds touch to touch, with a sort of riot of cumulative circumstances, till every feature of the scene is completely brought out!

84. **Castrorum**], i.e. the pretorian camp just outside of the city walls, near the Colline gate (see Ann. 4: 2, note). — **praecipuo . . . studio**], "the zeal of the old cohorts being conspicuous," i.e. the pretorian cohorts, which, having been discharged by Vitellius (2: 67), had joined the forces of Vespasian. — **hausissent**], "they had exhausted," "gone through with." — **recipiantur**], i.e. unless the *camp* be recovered. It was formerly their camp. — **cruore**], i.e. useless blood. — **suprema . . . complectebantur**], "embraced (chose) as the last consolation to the vanquished." Revenge was their only consolation. — **reliquus globus**], "the remaining body of soldiers," i.e. those who had not expired on the walls of the camp. — **ea cura . . . fuit**], "by this care (i.e. to face the enemy), even to the dying death was an honor." They all fell by wounds in the breast (contrariis vulneribus). — **ut, si**]. *Ut* belongs to the predicate *perfugeret*, and *si* to *vitavisset* ("if he had escaped the day, i.e. the perils of the day, he might then flee"). Tarracina, some fifty miles south-east of Rome on the Appian way, was the head-quarters of the Vitellian forces out of Rome. — **palatium**]. The imperial palace was on the Palatine Hill; but his own private house (domum uxoris) was on the Aventine Hill (sec. 70). This description of the gloom and horror which he experienced on returning to the palace is admirable. — **obvius . . . militibus**], "one of the German soldiers meeting him." **an tribunum appetieret**], "or whether he aimed at the tribune." There are three hypotheses presented here for the act of the soldier: 1st, that he aimed the blow at Vitellius through anger; 2d, that his object was thereby to deliver him from the public mockery; or, finally, that the attack was really upon the tribune of the guard which accompanied him.

85. **Galbae occisi locum**]. Galba was slain in the forum, at

what was called the chasm of Curtius (1: 41). In his present circumstances, the sight of such a place, where an emperor had been killed less than a year before, must have been any thing but agreeable to Vitellius. But a few days before, also, he had harangued the people from the *rostra* (70), which he was now compelled to view under very different circumstances.

86. **Patris claritudine**]. His father was an adroit flatterer and successful politician under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. — **perinde . . . quam**], "was bestowed in so great a degree as." These words are often used thus by Tacitus (see 4: 2). — **ni adsit modus**], "unless there be a limit" (for the subj. with the indic. in the principal sentence, see Intr. 103). Otherwise simplicity and liberality become a weakness. As our author goes on to say, while Vitellius thought to retain friends by the lavishness of his gifts, rather than by constancy and propriety of conduct, he earned them rather than actually possessed them. — **qui . . . descivissent**], "who had betrayed Vitellius to Vespasian after having revolted from Galba." Referring apparently to Caecina and Valens. — **nihil hostile**], i.e. no danger to him from the enemy. — **utque erat in armis**], "and just as they were with their armour on." Thus the soldiers, instead of the citizens, installed the emperor. As Vespasian had not yet arrived from the east, Domitian, as his son, was to act as Cæsar till his arrival.

BOOK IV.

1. **Procerum . . . juventa**], "tall (striking) in stature and youthfulness," i.e. like the German soldiers (Germanos . . . proceritas corporum attollit, 5: 14). The forces of Vitellius were chiefly German. But, under the pretext of killing German soldiers, they murdered soldiers and citizens indiscriminately. — **recentibus odiis**], "while their animosities were fresh." But afterwards (dein) it (i.e. saevitia) had turned into avarice (plundering). — **simulantes**], "pretending." — **prodere**]. This infin. depends upon *deerat* ("did not fail to betray," see *deerat . . . amplecti*, sec. 11). — **fortunae**], i.e. the varied fortunes, or vicissitudes. — **invidiosa . . . desiderare-**

tur], "the former (antea) hateful insolence was desired," i.e. the present state of things being so much worse. — **quippe . . . indigent**]. A sentiment of rare truth and beauty.

2. **Sedem**], i.e. the imperial palace. When first rescued from his hiding-place, he had been taken to his father's house in the city (3: 85). — **familiamque**], i.e. his family property, slaves, &c. — **ceteri**], i.e. the others engaged in the war for Vespasian. — **occupari redeuntem**], "should be captured on his way back." This was to prevent his uniting with other forces and renewing the war. To accomplish this, forces were sent out towards Tarracina on the Appian way, the cavalry to Aricia, and the infantry to Bovillæ, to meet him as he approached the city. — **seque et cohortes**]. See 3: 63. This L. Vitellius was brother of the emperor. — **infelicia arma**], "their unsuccessful arms." — **abstractus**], "dragged down," "ruined."

3. **Capuae**]. This was one of the larger towns in Campania, and hence its name has an emphatic position at the beginning of the sentence. It was punished for its adherence to the cause of Vitellius by having a legion quartered on the chief families, while no favor was shown to Tarracina, although it had suffered much for the Flavian party (3: 76, 77). Hence the very just sentiment which follows about returning favors and injuries. — **tanto . . . habetur**], "there is so much greater inclination to make return for injuries than favors, because kindness is felt to be a burden, revenge a gain." *Oneri* is governed by *est* understood. — **isdem . . . anulis**]. This ring, presented to him by Vitellius for betraying Tarracina to his party (3: 77), was now retained upon his finger in mockery. — **cuncta principibus solita**], i.e. all honors and prerogatives, such as the tribunicial power, the consulship, &c. — **velut expiato terrarum orbe**], "as if the whole world had been purified," i.e. by this terrible sacrifice of war, which had been the round (lustraverat) of all the provinces. The author here looks back to the beginning of the civil wars at the death of Nero. — **ea prima specie forma**], i.e. as though the conflict was not yet over, and his fate decided. Vespasian had not yet arrived at Rome, and his son Titus was engaged in the siege of Jerusalem.

11. **Non leges**]. Inter arma silent leges. — **non princeps**]. Vespasian not yet having arrived in Rome. — **sed . . . transtuleratque**], "but the state, quick in detecting animosities, had turned and transferred itself to him." Perceiving these former leaders to be

offensive to Mucianus, the people turned from them to him. The pluperf. indicates the suddenness and completeness of the action. — **ille unus ambiri . . . coli**], "he alone was flattered, courted." The hist. infin. is much used by Tacitus in the narration of a rapid succession of acts or feelings (M. 392). — **vim principis . . . remittere**], "to secure the power of a prince, to leave off the name." — **nihil ausus**], i.e. never having attempted any thing unlawful, or against the government. — **decora ipsius juventa**], "his own comely youth." His comely youth was a personal quality, the distinguished name of Piso was merely accidental. For *ipsius*, see Intr. 42. — **fuso . . . extinguitur**]. One of the many forms of expressing the idea of death by Tacitus (see A. 6: 56). — **Julius Priscus**]. He and Alfenus Varus were joint prefects of the pretorians under Vitellius (see 2:92 and 3:36). They both alike fled from their camp at Interamna on the attack of Arrius Varus (3:61). It is this which is alluded to below by *pudore* and *ignaviae*. Alfenus *was left to his infamy*, and not put to death. Asiaticus was a favorite slave of Vitellius (2:57). Slaves were executed by crucifixion (servili supplicio).

12. **Nequaquam maesta civitas**], i.e. on account of the overthrow of the Vitellian party. — **mare oceanus**], "the ocean sea;" as opposed to an inland sea. It is nominative to *circumluit*, which, as the common predicate of this and of *amnis*, must be taken in the sense "bounds," "encloses." — **nec opibus . . . ministrant**], "nor wasted by the Roman power, by alliance with the stronger, they supply men and arms alone," i.e. they did not pay tribute (see also Germ. 29). — **perrumpere**], "to rush across" (i.e. by swimming), depends upon *retinens* ("keeping in readiness;" see Agric. 18).

13. **Fonteius Capito**]. He was military governor, during the latter part of Nero's reign, of the Roman forces and of the country on the Gallic side of the lower Rhine, what was called Lower Germany. He was followed in that office by Aulus Vitellius, the lately defeated emperor (see 1:8 and 9). — **ex malis nostris**], i.e. from their civil strife. — **simili oris dishonestamento**], i.e. by the loss of one eye. — **ne ut hosti iretur**], "lest he might be proceeded against as an enemy." — **sane**], "actually," "even." — **avertere**], "to avert," i.e. from Italy. Antony wanted the auxiliaries which Vitellius had ordered from Germany (2:97) and the legions (those on the upper Rhine in charge of Hordeonius Flaccus) to be kept out of Italy, that they might not aid Vitellius in the coming conflict,

and Flaccus had connived with Civilis to effect this, under the pretext that there was danger of a German revolt. — **cui excidium adventabat**], "to which (i.e. the state) destruction was coming," "was sure to come." Flaccus sympathized with Vespasian, and was soon put to death by his soldiers, and Vocula put in his place (36, 37). Civilis soon organizes a revolt of the Batavians and other German and Gallic tribes, which, in its disastrous and vexatious details, occupies the greater part of this book, and also of what remains of the fifth book.

62. **A Novesio . . . jubetur**], "is commanded to proceed from Novesium to Treves." This sixteenth legion had recently surrendered to Civilis at Novesium on the Rhine, just south of Cologne (between that place and *Vetera*), and is now to be removed to his head-quarters at Treves. — **caesorum . . . exemplo**], i.e. of the fifth and fifteenth legions, which had been captured and destroyed by the forces of Civilis, at these ancient camps (Vetera) on the Rhine (60). — **et omnia . . . fecissent**]. They had surrendered themselves to the enemy and taken the oath of allegiance to the Gallic league. How the Roman pride and mortification show themselves in this whole account! — **deformitas**], "their wretched condition." This was rendered more conspicuous by the light and beauty of things without. — **inhonora signa**], "their standards unsightly." The Roman soldiers took great pride in keeping their standards well furbished, when all went well with them (see Ann. 1:24). — **altera . . . miscuerat**], "another legion had joined them" (i.e. the first legion, from Bonn). — **Mogontiacum**]. Now Mayence, at the junction of the Main with the Rhine; it still had some uncaptured troops in camp. — **initium . . . culpae**]. *Suae*, non Longini, cujus erat scelus vel flagitium (Heraeus), i.e. apparently their fault in deserting Vocula and surrendering to the barbarians. This act of vengeance on Longinus was only the beginning of what was to be inflicted on these perfidious enemies in after times.

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

Introductory Note. — Tacitus was the son-in-law of Agricola, and narrates his life with an affectionate reverence suited to that relation, and a just appreciation of his character and genius. Passing rapidly over his birth and his education at Marseilles, his tribuneship in Britain under Paulinus, his questorship in Asia, his government of Aquitania, and his elevation to the consulship, he devotes the larger portion of the tract to his government of Britain, which he held for seven years, during which time he subdued nearly the whole island, and introduced many elements of the Roman civilization. The Life of Agricola appears to have been published in the reign of Nerva (see 3), earlier than either his History or his Annals, probably about A.D. 98.

2. **Laudati essent**]. In the plural, agreeing with both Thrasea and Helvidius, instead of being repeated in the singular with each of them; and the agents by whom they were praised are in the dat. (Rustico, Senecioni), to indicate, perhaps, that it was *to their harm* that they had done it, — though the personal agent is very often found without the preposition *ab*, as though in the dat., after passive verbs in Tacitus (Intr. 36; M. 250). They were put to death by Domitian (sec. 45). Thrasea was the father-in-law of Helvidius. They were both high-minded Stoic philosophers. For an account of Helvidius, see Hist. 4 : 5; and for Rusticus and Thrasea, see Ann. 16 : 21–26. — **in comitio ac foro urerentur**]. The *comitium* and *forum* were separated only by the *rostra*, from which the orators addressed the people. Their books were to be burned there by the commissioners (triumviris), because it was a place conspicuous for its publicity. — **sapientiae professoribus**]. The Stoic philosophy, with its stern, unyielding principles, nurtured a form of character highly offensive to such frivolous and wicked rulers as Nero and Domitian. They attempted, therefore, to rid themselves of its influence by killing its professors and burning their books. — **Vetus aetas**], i.e. the age of the Republic; before the battle of Actium, like *prius aevum*, H. 1 : 1. — **per inquisitiones**]. Referring to the system of espionage con-

ducted through informers (delatores). What a solemn reprobation upon this system is pronounced in these and the few following words!

3. **Nunc . . . animus**], i.e. at the time of the publication of this tract, which, from what follows, must have been before the death of the emperor Nerva (as he is not spoken of as *divi*), and after his adoption of Trajan in A.D. 97 (who is here called *Nerva* Trajanus), i.e. during the year A.D. 98.—**nec spem . . . assumpserit**], "nor has Public Security assumed hope and a wish merely, but the very confidence and strength of the wish." The figure of the goddess of Security upon the coins is here represented as assuming in her countenance not only the expression of the hope of security for the state, but the confidence of its actual realization.—**quippe**], "because indeed" = *quia-pe*.—**per quindecim annos**], i.e. from A.D. 81 to A.D. 96, the length of Domitian's reign, who immediately preceded Nerva.—**nostri superstites sumus**]. They had been virtually dead during the constrained, death-like silence of so many years, from which they had at length revived under the good prince Nerva. During this period, however, as is implied in what follows, he had collected the materials for his historical works.—**ut sic dixerim**]. For this use of the perf. subj. in subordinate sentences, see Intr. 16.

4. **Quae equestris nobilitas est**]. See H. 1: 11, note.—**per omnem . . . cultum**], "through the entire round of the liberal arts."—**ab illecebris peccantium**], "from the enticements of sinners."—**quod . . . habuit**]. The indic. after *quod* gives an *actual* reason derived from the nature of the case, and not merely what is a reason to some individual from his particular view of the case, which would require the subj. (M. 357). Marseilles was actually a safe place for the young, not merely that his parents thought it so. It was an old Greek colony.—**locum . . . compositum**], "a place uniting and combining, in happy proportions, Grecian elegance and provincial frugality."—**ultra quam . . . senatori**]. Philosophers do not usually make very good politicians. Not only are philosophical studies so absorbing as to prevent a suitable knowledge of things practical, but philosophical principles are not limber enough for the supple arts of the politician.—**quam caute**]. See Ann. 1: 68.—**Quod est . . . modum**], "what is the most difficult, a just mean in philosophy."

5. **Diligenti . . . duci**], "a careful and considerate leader."

Paulinus, as we have seen (H. 2: 32), was the ablest general of Otho in his war with Vitellius (A.D. 69). — **quem contubernio aestimaret**], "of whom he might form an estimate by tent companionship." His office was that of tribune. — **neque segniter . . . retulit**], "nor slothfully did he devote the office of tribune to pleasures, and furloughs, and continued ignorance." — **ingrata temporibus, etc.**], i.e. to the times of Nero, during whose reign this preliminary service in Britain took place (A.D. 60). Some eighteen years later (A.D. 78) he was made military governor of Britain by Vespasian (sec. 17, 18), which office he retained seven years, when he was recalled by Domitian, and died A.D. 93. — **expeditionem . . . continuisse**], "nor call it an expedition or victory to have held those already conquered." — **ne laureatis . . . est**], "not even with laurelled letters did he despatch his exploits," i.e. as if he considered them in some way extraordinary. *Ne — quidem* denotes an advance to a stronger case. The author, in his description of the course and character of Agricola, is giving his ideal of an upright and able governor of a province; and certainly it is an admirable one.

18. **Ordovicum**]. A people occupying the northern part of Wales. — **quibus volentibus . . . erat**], "those who desired war" (literally, "to whom there was war wishing it"). It is a Greek construction (see Dem. De Cor. 11; also Intr. 29; M. 246, Obs. 3). — **tarda . . . inchoaturo**], "were retarding and opposing circumstances to his beginning the war."

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pressing a *real* condition ("unless you *really* think"). — **licet commodent**], "although they may give their blood to a foreign tyranny," i.e. may do this temporarily, by serving in the Roman army. The subj. of a principal tense here follows *licet* as usual (H. 515). — **qui timere . . . incipient**]. A striking truth strikingly expressed. — **nostras manus**], "our hands," "hands for us," i.e. not only Britons, but, as is implied in what follows, Gauls and Germans also. — **tam quam**], "so as," "just as." — **senium**], i.e. of superannuated discharged soldiers. — **municipia**], "free towns," i.e. towns with Roman citizenship and rights. Such towns, as well as the colonies of discharged soldiers (usually on the frontiers), were designed for the defence of the empire (see *colonia* in Smith's Dic. Antiq.). For *inter male parentes*, see Intr. 51.

36. **Ac primo congressu**]. Here follows the account of this last great battle of Agricola with the Britons, at the Grampian Hills. — **gladii sine mucrone**]. In their long and pointless swords the Britons were like the Gauls, but unlike the Spaniards, whose swords were short and pointed (Liv. 22:46). — **miscere ictus . . . umbonibus**], "to cut and thrust with their swords, to smite with the bosses of their shields." — **covinarii**]. These fought from chariots, and, according to the arrangement of the forces given in the preceding section, they and the Roman horsemen occupied the open space between the two armies; so that when the hand-to-hand fight became general along the two lines, the *covinarii*, which at first had inspired fear, became, as well as the Roman horsemen, a source of confusion and disaster. — **equorum corporibus**], i.e. of their own horses on the steep acclivity. — **currus**]. These were the chariots and horses of the *covinarii*, moving as fright had borne each one, and crushing any who chanced to meet them, or cross their track.

37. **Aversam . . . aciem**], i.e. their rear. — **oblatis aliis**], "as others were offered," "as others presented themselves," an abl. absolute. The description here is magnificent. — **prout cuique ingenium erat**], "as each one was disposed." — **armatorum**], "with their armor on," agrees with *hostium*, and forms a contrast with *inermes*, in the next sentence. — **item**]. Marked as a doubtful reading, means "also," as indicating that the enemy still had some spirit left. — **indaginis modo**], i.e. after the manner of hunting animals, by hemming them in and gradually crowding them into a smaller and still smaller space. To do this, he commanded certain cohorts to scour the forests, — without horses where they were dense

(artiora), but with their horses where they were more open. — **nec alius alium respectantes**], "nor looking out one for another." They had lost all hope, and each had regard only for himself. — **pignorum suorum**], i e. their wives and children, as in Germ. sec. 7. What a picture we have here of the indecision, wretchedness, and despair of this conquered people! — a wretchedness only made the more conspicuous by the consummate art and power with which the scene is described. — **quibus . . . compertum**], "by whom sent out into all parts, when it was ascertained that the traces of their flight were uncertain, and that the enemy were nowhere collected in bodies."

44. **Natus . . . excessit**]. A.D. 37–A.D. 93. — **habitum**], "his general appearance." — **metus**], "of the forbidding," "the stern;" a partitive gen. — **praedito**], "having been honored with." He was granted the honor of a triumph for his conquests in Britain (sec. 40). — **filia**]. She was the wife of Tacitus. — **nam sicut**]. Some words like *potissimum fuisset* seem to have been lost here. — **quod . . . ominibatur**], "which he anticipated in my hearing by predictions and wishes." — **festinatae . . . solatium**]. This is in the predicate with *tulit*. — **quo Domitianus**], i.e. the last part of his reign. The loss of that part of the author's history which gave the account of the reign of Domitian is greatly to be deplored; but in his brief allusions to him he has gibbeted him for all time.

45. **Eadem strage**], "in one and the same massacre." Suetonius says there were seven slain. — **una ad huc . . . censebatur**], "as yet (i.e. before the death of Agricola) Carus Metius was judged of by only a single victory," i.e. by a single success in ruining some public man by prosecuting him before the senate for treason (laesa majestatis). It was not then known what a miserable informer he was to become (see Juvenal 1:36). — **et intra . . . strepebat**], "and the accusations of Messalinus were resounding within the Alban castle," i.e. the villa of Domitian at the foot of the Alban Mount, where he sometimes assembled the senate in a more private way (see Juv. 4:60–65). Messalinus became one of the vilest of informers, as Juvenal says of him (4:114): grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore *monstrum*. — **Massa Baebius**]. Another notorious informer after the death of Agricola. At that time, however, he was himself on trial (reus) for plundering the province of Bætica, of which he had been governor. He is alluded to Hist. 4:50. — **nostrae manus**]. Helvidius, son of Helvidius Priscus, of whom

Tacitus gives an account in his History (4 : 5), was a senator, and was condemned to death by the senate (at the dictation of the emperor, of course), under the pretext that he had represented in a farce, under false names, the domestic infelicities of Domitian and his wife. Tacitus being a member of the senate speaks of himself as having been compelled to take a part in this horrid deed of condemning to death a fellow senator. — **nos . . . perfudit**]. Rusticus (as we have seen, sec. 2), was condemned to death for eulogizing Paetus Thrasea, and Senecio for eulogizing Helvidius Priscus. On the contrary, Mauricus, a brother of Rusticus, was only banished. *Perfudit*, the common predicate of *visus* ("the sight"), and *Senecio*, means with the first "struck with horror," and with the last "sprinkled." This is *zeugma* (see Intr. 121). — **cum . . . subscriberentur**], "when even our groans (i.e. at the sad state of public affairs) were secretly noted down," i.e. to be used against them as evidence of disloyalty. — **quo se . . . muniebat**]. What a sarcasm on the wicked emperor, that *his face was so impudent and red that he could not blush!* — **innocentiam principi donares**], i.e. by meeting his fate cheerfully, without any complaints of injury or neglect on the part of the emperor. — **ante quadriennium**], "four years before." Tacitus, it seems, had been absent this length of time, perhaps in the administration of his pretorian province.

46. **Nosque, domum tuam**], "and us, your family," i.e. himself, his wife, and her mother." — **non qui . . . imaginibus**], "not because I think we should reject statues." But I will not mar the beauty of this section by any further comments.

DIALOGUE ON ORATORY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE. — It is now universally admitted by scholars that this is a genuine dialogue of Tacitus. An allusion to a particular phrase in it as his, by his friend, the younger Pliny, in one of his letters to him, seems conclusive on this point. And, then, the style does not differ more from that of his other works than might be expected in a dialogue written in his youth, as it appears to have been (probably about A.D. 74 or 75), and on a subject of so entirely different a nature. It is known, too, that Tacitus was himself no mean orator, and well versed in the literature of oratory.

The dialogue purports to be a discussion between certain literary friends of his on the comparative merits of ancient and modern oratory, which Tacitus had listened to in his youth. In the brief extracts here presented, however, the peculiar features of a dialogue do not appear.

5. **Eam . . . artem**], i.e. eloquence. The speaker here sets forth the utility of the art of oratory. — **cujus vis . . . intelligitur**], "whose power and utility, while things go on prosperously with one, are seen in the protection and defence of others." — **sin . . . increpuit**], "but if one's own danger has become imminent" (lit. "has been noised abroad"). — **infestis patribus**], "to the hostile senators." Referring to the strong party feelings aroused in the senate on the question of the appointment of ambassadors to meet Vespasian on his way to Rome; debated on the one side by Marcellus, and on the other by Helvidius, in which the former finally prevailed (see H. 4 : 7, 8). — **Maternum**], one of the interlocutors.

6. **Concursu . . . hominum**], i.e. of clients. — **sed sibi ipsi dari**], "but that it is given (i.e. this thronged attendance) for his own sake," i.e. for the orator's sake, in order to obtain his advice and advocacy. — **plerumque**], "very often," "frequently." A common meaning of the word in Tacitus. — **commendent**], "may commend to him," i.e. engage his advocacy in these dangers and difficulties. — **veteres . . . subnixos**], "the experienced and the old, and those enjoying the favor of the whole city." — **id quod optimum sit**],

i.e. the gift of oratory. With all their resources, even such men could not get along without the aid of the orators. — **togatorum**], i.e. of men in public, and not at home in their tunics. When the orator appeared in the court or in the forum, the concourse was greater even than when surrounded by his clients at home. — **in unum**], i.e. the orator. — **accipere . . . induerit**], "to receive whatever state of mind the orator has induced." — **et imperitorum . . . exposita**], "are open to the eyes even of those who have never experienced them." — **quoddam**]. This agrees with *pondus*. — **curam**], i.e. an oration. — **nam . . . nascuntur**]. We see the true Tacitian subtlety and genius here.

21. **et exsurgit . . . commendat**], "and swells into ridges, and ruddiness covers the very sinews, and comeliness commends them." A very apt and beautiful comparison. — **nolo . . . sufficeret**], "I am unwilling to censure Corvinus, because neither by his own fault did he fail (per ipsum stetit) to express the elegance and splendor of our times, and because we see how much his force of mind or genius supplied in a trial." Corvinus was a distinguished orator and consul in the time of Augustus (Ann. 13 : 34). *Nec* is here correlative to *et*, as is not unfrequently the case in Tacitus (Intr. 61).

22. **Locos . . . invenit**], "he also essayed more pleasing topics, and invented certain maxims." *Loci* and *sententiae* are used here in their technical rhetorical meaning (see below). — **senior**], "ut orationes pro Milone, pro Ligario, pro Dejotaro, in Antonium scriptos." (Doed.) — **excessus**], i e. the close, or peroration. — **referre**], "to carry away." — **non eo . . . tegi**]. In its application to the orator, this covering must be his language and style. A most apt and elegant comparison again. — **Variet compositionem**]. Tacitus, more than any other author, aims at this in all his writings.

31. **Quae . . . numerantur**], i.e. what is morally indifferent in character, as for instance the facts of science. The sources of true oratory are admirably described here. — **tenebit venas animorum**], "he will hold the keys (venas) of their feelings." The veins being internal and permeating the whole body denote its interior or essential nature. — **aptos . . . locos**], i.e. the points or sources of argument, in discussing any subject: as, from the similar, the dissimilar; cause, effect, &c. (see Cic. de Inventione, 2 : 6–14). — **dabunt . . . pugnacitatem**]. The Academics held that no truth was absolutely and finally established, but that every thing was open to discussion. — **honestas . . . exclamationes**]. The reference here, most

probably, is to the frequent exclamations of the Epicurean philosophers at the brevity and insignificance of bodily pain, in comparison with the permanent and superior pleasures of the mind, as pointed out by Orelli. — **neque . . . civitatem**], "for indeed we are describing neither the philosopher nor the state of the Stoics." These held the arts of eloquence in no repute. — **sed eum**], "but him," "one." Governed by *informamus*.

36. **Eadem ratio**], i.e. the abundance of material to call it forth. — **quae . . . fas erat**], "which it was lawful should be given," &c., i.e. honors, wealth, favor, power. — **cum mixtis . . . carentibus**], i.e. before the establishment of the imperial government, during the republic. — **saperet**], "might seem to be wise." — **hinc . . . hinc**], i.e. from the disturbed state of affairs under the republic. — **ultro**], "without any seeking" (see H. 3 : 70).

37. **Tanti fuit reipublicae**], "that it was of so much consequence to the republic." *Tanti* is gen. of price (A. and G. 115, *l*). — **sed . . . loqui**], "but, as I continually remind you, that we may remember the point, and know that we are speaking of that state of things," &c.

SENTENTIAE.

These few gems of thought collected from the pages of Tacitus are designed to be committed to memory. For this they are admirably fitted by their brevity, their depth of meaning, and wide applicability. Being apt and profound reflections on the various affairs of life, as presented in the shifting scenes of history, the mind can be equipped with no better or more useful furniture. As history repeats itself, and there is a constant recurrence of the same or the similar in the experience of life, occasions will not be wanting for their apt and effective use. At the same time, the condensed vigor of their style, the solemn grandeur of their tone, and the native dignity of the Latin tongue, are sure to give weight and authority to them wherever appropriately introduced. Let the teacher, then, call the attention of his pupils to these striking maxims, and explain to them the circumstances of their original use and the applications of which they are susceptible, and let the pupil con them till they become as familiar as household words; he may be sure that he will find his account in it in after life.

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